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A Systematic Course of Reading in Preparation for the Larger Citizenship

Editor

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Dean Divinity School, The University of Chicago
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VOL. XI

Woman and the Larger Citizenship

The Prevention of Social Waste

(Continued)

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Formerly Chief State Factory Inspector of Illinois

PEACE AND ARBITRATION

By MRS. LUCIA AMES MEAD

Author and Lecturer, Boston, Mass.

Training Future Citizens

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL

By MRS. FRANCES SQUIRE POTTER, A.B., A.M.

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PUBLIC RECREATION

By MISS CHARLOTTE RUMBOLD

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THE PREVENTION OF SOCIAL WASTE

(Continued)

PART VII

Factory Inspection

By FLORENCE KELLEY

Introductory Note on the History of Factory Inspection

FACTORY inspection dates back to the middle of the Nineteenth Century and the passage of Lord Shaftesbury's bills establishing the ten-hours day for women and children in English manufacturing industry.

All who are interested in this subject should acquaint themselves with Frederick Engels' volume, "The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1842," and also with Hodder's Life of Lord Shaftesbury, who, first as Lord Ashley in the House of Commons, and later throughout a long career as Lord Shaftesbury in the House of Lords, built up the code of factory legislation for the protection of women and children and, incidentally, for the protection of men in all the factory trades throughout British industries.

The reports of Leonard Horner, the first English factory inspector, lie at the foundation of all subse-

quent factory legislation enacted in the English colonies, in Germany, and in the United States. Facts drawn from them form a part of the mass of evidence which led the Supreme Court of the United States to hold, in January, 1908, that under our constitution the working hours of women employed in manufacture may be restricted by statute in the different states of the American Republic.*

In the United States, factory inspection did not exist until after 1876. In that year in Fall River, Massachusetts, a cotton mill was burned, and several children less than ten years old perished in the conflagration. Following that disaster, a state bureau of labor statistics was created, and charged with the duty of enforcing the provision that children should not work in mills in Massachusetts before the tenth birthday, and women and children should not work longer than ten hours in one day. Factory inspectors were not appointed until some years later, even in Massachusetts.

Factory inspection was established in Ohio a few years after Massachusetts recognized and acted upon the fact that women and children can not obtain the enforcement of laws passed for their protection. In New York State there were no factory inspectors until 1886; and in Pennsylvania, although the bill creating the office was signed by the Governor in May, 1889,

* "Fatigue and Efficiency," by Josephine Goldmark, Publication Secretary National Consumers' League, issued by Russell Sage Foundation, 1912.

it carried no appropriation for salaries for inspectors, and the first official appointed in Pennsylvania under that law served without compensation for many months. In Illinois — which was then and is now the third manufacturing state in the Union, when judged by the output of its industries — the first factory inspection law was passed in 1893, the writer being appointed in July of that year to the position of chief of a staff consisting of one assistant and ten deputies.

Since 1893 virtually no year has passed without provision for factory inspection in one or more of the states.

New York State did not enact or enforce labor legislation applying to mercantile employments until 1896, and had no state mercantile inspectors for twenty-two years after the first factory inspectors were appointed.

Areas With and Without Inspection

There are obviously wide areas within our country in which at present there is little or no opportunity for factory inspection. Alaska, Arizona, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, the Dakotas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Washington, and Wyoming occur to the mind at once as regions without factories.

Thirty-five years after the creation of the office of factory inspector in Massachusetts, the field of factory inspection in the United States is indicated by the following two columns:

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more and twenty counties. In Louisiana it is limited to the parish of Orleans, which virtually coincides with the city of New Orleans. In Kentucky their work was originally limited to one man and one city, Louisville.

The slow growth in numbers and field of activity of the inspectors in the southern states arises from the fact that manufacturing has been hitherto limited chiefly to cotton mills, tobacco factories, canneries. In a few cities such as Baltimore, Chattanooga, Louisville, and New Orleans, industry is becoming more diversified, and women and children are entering into a variety of occupations, and inspection is increasingly needed. Among the states which are still without inspectors are some whose manufacturing establishments urgently call for legislation and inspection. A conspicuous example of this is Georgia.

State or Federal Inspection?

Factory inspection has always been a function of the individual states. In the British Empire, there are His Majesty's Inspectors for England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales separately. In Germany, while the insurance is imperial, the factory inspectors are Prussian, Bavarian, Saxon, etc., and in the United States the legislation and the enforcing officials are created by the individual states. There have been several federal investigations of industrial conditions, including conditions in factories, but there have never been federal factory laws or federal factory inspectors.

In no sphere of legislation are the inequalities among the states more glaring or more unjust than in the factory inspection laws. It is an unspeakable hardship for the children working in the cotton mills of Mississippi, North Carolina, and Georgia that the laws which should protect them against too early work, too long hours of labor, night work, and the dangers of unguarded machinery, are left in many cases dead letters for want of inspectors. These children are thus discriminated against as compared with children employed in the same industries in New York and Massachusetts, where comparatively large staffs of inspectors, receiving relatively adequate salaries and supported with sufficient appropriations for traveling expenses, are authorized to prosecute violators of the law.

For several years past there has been an agitation for an amendment to the federal interstate commerce law, prohibiting the entrance into interstate commerce of goods coming from factories (or mines) in which children below the age of fourteen years are employed. This is for the purpose of obtaining federal enforcement of child labor laws in states which, like the cotton manufacturing states of the South and, also, like Vermont and New Hampshire, appoint either no factory inspectors whatever, or so few inspectors equipped with such meager appropriations that the factory inspection law remains virtually a dead letter. This proposal was embodied by Senator Albert J. Beveridge in a bill which he introduced in the Senate during the

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NO FACTORY INSPECTORS	FACTORY INSPECTORS	
Alaska	Alabama	Minnesota
Arizona	Arkansas	Missouri
Georgia	California	New Jersey
Idaho	Colorado	New York
Mississippi	Connecticut	Ohio
Montana	Delaware	Oregon
Nebraska	Dist. of Col.	Oklahoma
New Mexico	Florida	Pennsylvania
Nevada	Illinois	Rhode Island
North Dakota	Indiana	South Carolina
South Dakota	Iowa	Tennessee
New Hampshire	Kansas	Texas
North Carolina	Kentucky	Utah
Wyoming	Louisiana	Vermont
	Maine	Virginia
	Maryland	Washington
	Massachusetts	West Virginia
	Michigan	Wisconsin

In the states enumerated in the first column, there are no officials designated, empowered, and paid to act as factory inspectors. In New Hampshire and some of the western states school officials visit factories in search of school children.

Factory Inspection in Southern States

Factory inspectors are at work in ten of the thirteen southern states: Alabama, Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia. They are still lacking in Georgia, Mississippi, and North Carolina. In Maryland their field is limited to the city of Balti-

more and twenty counties. In Louisiana it is limited to the parish of Orleans, which virtually coincides with the city of New Orleans. In Kentucky their work was originally limited to one man and one city, Louisville.

The slow growth in numbers and field of activity of the inspectors in the southern states arises from the fact that manufacturing has been hitherto limited chiefly to cotton mills, tobacco factories, canneries. In a few cities such as Baltimore, Chattanooga, Louisville, and New Orleans, industry is becoming more diversified, and women and children are entering into a variety of occupations, and inspection is increasingly needed. Among the states which are still without inspectors are some whose manufacturing establishments urgently call for legislation and inspection. A conspicuous example of this is Georgia.

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they turn to the factory inspectors for help and counsel.

It is for this reason among others that the work of factory inspection in the German Empire has become a profession for which men and women prepare themselves in technical schools or in special courses in the universities. They are advisors in regard to safety devices and all the processes related to industrial poisons, and processes involving possible injury to the health. Political appointments to positions of such responsibility are unthinkable in Prussia. There is reason to believe that in our own country the example of Prussia is to be increasingly followed in the more highly developed manufacturing states. Massachusetts and New York, for instance, are appointing physicians, sanitarians, heating and lighting engineers in the service of their commissions of industrial welfare. Under new laws in both these states, child workers may be physically examined in the factory or work-shop for the purpose of ascertaining their fitness or unfitness to continue their present employment. This work obviously can be done only by responsible physicians. The inspection and safeguarding of machinery, on the other hand, is increasingly provided for by the requirement in the labor statute that practical mechanics must do this work.

The routine task of finding out the age of the children employed, whether or not they are under the legal working age, and whether their working papers are duly filed, and ascertaining the accuracy of obedi-

ence in the matter of women's and children's working hours, remains for the ordinary deputy inspectors.

In 1890 Mr. Rufus Wade, the Chief Inspector of Factories of Massachusetts, appointed two women inspectors and, in 1893, one woman was appointed in Rhode Island.

In New York State, the appointment of women deputy inspectors had been made obligatory in 1889, and the initial law, passed in the same year, in Pennsylvania provided that half of the deputies must be women. A similar provision was embodied in the Illinois law of 1893, and Governor Altgeld went beyond the requirement of the law by appointing, besides the required five women deputies, women to the positions of chief and assistant chief inspectors. Since 1893 women have been increasingly a part of the inspection force, and even in South Carolina, under the law of 1911, women may be appointed for the purpose of obtaining evidence of the violation of the law restricting the work of women and children. The total expenditure for their services in any one year is, however, limited to $300!

It is reasonable to believe that the work of factory inspection is destined to become in the next twenty years as strictly professional in the United States as it has been for the last twenty years in Germany. In preparation for this change several of the universities are establishing courses for training inspectors. Having begun with sanitary inspectors intended chiefly for

presidency of Mr. Roosevelt. The same principle is embodied in a bill introduced in 1913 by Senator Kenyon, of Iowa.

Factory Inspection Considered as a Profession

The profession of factory inspector has not grown in proportion to the increase of manufacture. The largest number of inspectors in any state is found in New York, where under the amendment of 1913 there are authorized, even yet, "not exceeding 125, of whom not more than 30 may be women."

Factory inspectors need vigorous health, excellent sight, quick wit, courteous manners, and, most important of all, unimpeachable integrity of character, and unflagging zeal in their work. This combination of qualities commands in the business world very fair salaries, but the statutes creating the office of factory inspector usually provide for the deputies salaries ranging in amount from $800 to $1,800 a year, with traveling expenses. The combined effect of small salaries and precarious tenure of office under the spoils system, has been to keep out of the factory inspection service many men and women having the qualities urgently needed in this field of work.

During the early period of factory inspection in the United States, appointments were made chiefly for political reasons to reward services rendered in some recent political campaign, or to build up a party machine, and the whole staff regularly expected to be

whether the children are working in factories, or in the streets, the mercantile occupations, or laundries, or bakeries. There is no other factory inspection than this in the state.

In Louisiana and New Jersey, the factory inspector is burdened with the duty of issuing employment certificates to all candidates for employment between the ages of 14 and 16 years.

In Massachusetts, factory inspection — as we have seen — began with the cotton mills. To this day in the southern states the same limitation obtains. Mr. Oates, the factory inspector of Alabama, having supposedly too little to do in the mills, is charged with the strange combination of duties involved in inspecting cotton mills, jails, and insane asylums, while bakeries, dressmaking and tailoring shops, laundries, and candy kitchens are all excluded from his field of activities. In some states laundries are counted as factories, and in others they are free from inspection; and the same unlike treatment is accorded to bakeries.

In New York State and in Illinois, factory inspection extends into every tenement dwelling in which any article is produced for the market. In New York State the same inspector could legally be called upon to visit in the course of a year factories and the workrooms of department stores, laundries, quarries, canneries, bakeries, skyscrapers under construction, and also to report upon numbers of occupants of workrooms and tenement dwellings used as workrooms. He may also

be called upon to appear in court in cases involving overtime work beyond the limit of fifty-four hours in a week, or failure to pay wages weekly to men in the service of steam railways and surface railways. Contractors building aqueducts or highways for the state itself cannot legally employ men longer than eight hours in one day, and must pay their wages weekly. A factory inspector may be called upon to appear in court in cases also involving the enforcement of this statute.

Within the factory itself, the range of duties of an inspector varies according to the terms of the statute under which he works. This may restrict him to the examination of the working papers of children, or it may be extended to include fire protection, ventilation, plumbing, sanitation, and cleanliness, safeguarding of machinery, deciding whether a particular child is physically fit for the work at which it is employed, counting the seats provided and observing whether or not they have backs.

In the early days of inspection, only the most obvious dangers came within the powers of the inspectors, for instance, set screws, or belting so placed as to involve the possibility of catching a girl's hair and scalping her at her work. When the writer was Chief Inspector of Factories in Illinois (1893-1897), a certain tin can factory employing considerable numbers of Polish and Italian boys was equipped with machines utterly unguarded and unusually dangerous even in that epoch of reckless disregard of the safety of life and limb of

employes in the newer manufacturing states. At a single machine in this establishment three boys lost their lives within a year. Yet the inspectors who knew intimately the details of the three fatal injuries were powerless, by reason of the limited statute under which they worked, to compel the corporation to provide safeguards. Today, twenty years later, the inspectors in many states are equally powerless.

The list of occupations prohibited for young workers by reason of extra hazard includes in some states one hundred or more items, and imposes upon the inspector the responsibility of a most versatile acquaintance with industry at a time when its dangers vary literally from day to day.

The difficulty of making adequate statutory lists of prohibited employments while the changes in industry are truly kaleidoscopic, has led a number of legislatures to abandon this hopeless attempt. In its place they have conferred upon state industrial commissions or industrial boards the duty of continual investigation, classification and reclassification of occupations in the hope of dealing with each change in industry promptly and skillfully as it arises. Such action has been taken in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and Wisconsin.

A common restriction upon inspection is a size limit applied to small working places. In some states no workshop is subject to inspection which employs less than ten or less than five persons. Sometimes the

exemption applies to all small establishments in which no women and children work. Or workrooms may be excluded in which there is no steam, electricity, or other artificial motive power.

The German Imperial Government objects to a proposed international treaty regulating the work of children below the age of fourteen years, if workshops employing less than ten persons are to be included in it. Although Prussia has more inspectors and covers a larger proportion of employes than any other government, it finds the difficulty of embracing the whole field of petty production so great, that it is unwilling to bind itself by international treaty to enforce uniformly and completely the proposed prohibitions and restrictions upon the work of young children.

The wisdom of this cautious attitude of the German Government appears, when contrasted with our own failure to deal by the method of inspection and regulation with manufacture in the tenements. New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Illinois have all attempted this hopeless task. New York, having suffered most from the sweating system, has gone farthest in burdening its inspectors with duties which fifty times their number could not perfectly perform.

Under the New York law more than fifty articles are excluded by name from manufacture in the tenements. Beside these specific prohibitions, it is now illegal to manufacture food products for the market

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The difficulty of making adequate statutory lists of prohibited employments while the changes in industry are truly kaleidoscopic, has led a number of legislatures to abandon this hopeless attempt. In its place they have conferred upon state industrial commissions or industrial boards the duty of continual investigation, classification and reclassification of occupations in the hope of dealing with each change in industry promptly and skillfully as it arises. Such action has been taken in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and Wisconsin.

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For want of such good will, the efforts of inspectors within a particular factory may be completely frustrated by the employes in that factory, although the inspector is honestly performing his duties for their benefit and in their service. As an illustration of this may be cited a physician, who was looking for a little Italian boy in a huge bakery. The child was suffering from a communicable skin disease, and was illegally young for factory work. The physician searched the factory from basement to roof, visited washrooms and toilets, freight elevators and hoists, stairways, closets, and the roof itself, and left the factory morally certain that the child was there. On going the next day through the street of Italian tenements in which the lad and his family lived, the physician was hailed by several children, who were her patients, with the greeting: "Oh, doctor, you couldn't find Felice, could you, because everybody was helping him dodge you? They pulled him out of the closets, and jumped him into the toilets, and rode him up on the elevator, whenever you was near, and when you got so 'warm,' they thought you sure had him, some girls dumped him in the sugar barrel, and sat on the lid and talked to you."

One means of gaining the goodwill and respect of the community is, however, often neglected, namely, the scrupulously prompt and thorough investigation of all complaints, even of anonymous ones. These are ignored in some offices on the general ground that

people who do not sign their names are commonly irresponsible in some measure, or are perhaps animated by personal spite. While there is some reason for this position, it is on the whole much safer to always follow up most carefully every suggestion of violation of the law.

Sometimes a complaint is deliberately sent as a test of the inspection staff, and a representative of a labor organization working in the factory complained of may be eagerly watching to see what action follows the letter he has written, asking for investigation or pointing out some dangers in the factory or workshop. Lasting and valuable allies may be gained, where real improvement in working conditions follows the efficient care by the inspectors of a complaint.

In many parts of Germany and Switzerland, factory inspectors have office hours in the evening, or on holidays and Sundays, for the purpose of listening to complaints. In America, employes are usually so distrustful, so in fear of losing their positions, that a visit from an employe to an inspector is indeed a rare occurrence. Unhappily, this distrust of the inspectors has been aggravated in many cases in times past by a lack of judgment in handing the original written complaint to a deputy to look up, instead of filing the original and handing out a copy typewritten on official paper. A single case of such lack of judgment causing one employe to lose a position, would discredit a whole department for years after its occurrence, the

tradition being handed on from one set of employes to another.

Where a staff of inspectors is as small in proportion to the extent of manufacturing industry as is the case throughout our country, it is necessary to prosecute all violations of the law, to consider the inspection staff not at all as a teaching body, but as a prosecuting staff.

Where this policy is rigorously followed, employers gradually acquire acquaintance with the details of the law, and respect for the inspection staff.

The policy of continuing prosecution tends, also, to raise the efficiency of the individual inspectors. One who knows that he must testify to the truth of his daily reports in the presence of the defendant's attorney and subject to cross questioning, inevitably develops a high degree of accuracy in his work.

Enforcement is easy just in proportion to the clearness and definiteness of the statute. A model law for the purpose of enforcement is the eight hours provision of the child labor statute of New York State. This provides that no child under 16 years of age shall work in a factory before eight o'clock in the morning or after five o'clock in the afternoon, and every child must have a full hour for lunch. The working week must not exceed six days. This provision is so clear-cut that no possible confusion can exist in the mind of any employer, or any child, or any inspector, with regard to it. If an inspector finds a child at work

in a factory after five o'clock in the afternoon, the violation of the law is unmistakable, and the duty of prosecuting the employer is obvious.

In sharp contrast with this easily enforced statute is the law which for many years applied to women in the same factories. The working hours of women in factories were nominally ten in one day and sixty in one week, but the provision that longer hours might be worked on the first five days of the week if a shorter day were given on Saturday, made it impossible for any inspector to know when any particular woman was working illegally late. This gave rise to infinite confusion in the minds of working people, and the inspectors were incessantly accused of laxity, and even of corruption, because they could not successfully prosecute employers.

The simplest means of enabling inspectors to enforce restriction on the working day is a fixed closing hour. But this also needs the further reinforcement of a provision that the presence of a woman in a factory after the closing hours is *prima facie* evidence of the violation of the law. This places the burden of proof on the employer. Where the burden of proof rests upon the inspectors, their task is hopeless, because women and girls are afraid to testify that they have worked illegally, and the evidence of inspectors unsupported by them is insufficient for winning a case.

Night inspections are obviously required wherever the work of women, youth, and children is forbidden.

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reduplication of work, and waste of effort, occurs increasingly in cities where the boards of health and the fire department share with the factory inspectors responsibility for sanitary conditions and fire safety precautions.

Other officials whose work interlocks with that of the factory inspectors are health authorities on whom depends complete registration of births. Where a local health department is lax as to this duty, physicians and midwives neglect to register children at whose birth they have officiated.

For Catholic and Lutheran children parish birth records are available in whatever part of the world the children may have been born. For non-Catholic children, however, the civil birth records are indispensable. In 1913 only eight American states have birth records which the United States Census Bureau considers satisfactory. These are the New England States, Pennsylvania, and Michigan. There is urgent need of a nation wide campaign for effective compulsory registration of births.

For want of complete records, factory inspectors are in many parts of the country unable to verify the evidence of age filed by children, and an inspector may thus be placed in the mortifying position of feeling certain that children whom he sees at work are not more than ten or eleven years old, while the perjured affidavits of their parents indicate that the children are between fourteen and sixteen.

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fects in the statute. Suggestions for needed extensions in the law, as revealed by the test of experience in applying it, may form one of the most useful chapters.

All the items of cost of the department of inspection should form part of the report, in order that the public may see precisely what it is paying.

The prompt publication of the annual report, its fullness, clearness, reasonableness, and practical nature of the suggestions contained in it, form an invaluable efficiency test. In a Western state, a few years ago, the total number of inspections reported for the whole department called forth a challenge. It was shown by a competent critic, that the mammoth total could have been reached only by a considerable number of deputy inspectors visiting one establishment per minute!

Prosecutions acquire an added deterrent force, when all particulars are regularly made public in the annual report, the name and address and nature of the business of the defendant, the nature of the provision violated, the amount of the fine or imprisonment imposed by the judge, and, finally, the name of the judge and court in which the case is tried. This publicity acts as a stimulant to the bench as well as to the inspection staff. For judges who might be extremely lenient to influential employers, dislike to make a record of heavy sentences imposed upon petty employers of a small number of hands, and light sentences imposed upon influential citizens for the same offense.

The Legislatures and Factory Inspection

Factory inspection laws have never been the outcome of any scientific plan. Often they have been a concession by the legislature to popular outcry following some disaster, as in the case of the child labor law of Massachusetts following the destruction of the Granite Mill. Always they are the product of struggle between employers who wish to keep things as they are, and labor organizations or philanthropic bodies urging change in the interest of wage-earning people. The plea of employers in behalf of freedom of contract has always been more readily met by the advocates of protection of women and children, than by the effort to make safe the working life of the whole body of working people. Thus it used to be a common jest in England that the men in the cotton mills hid behind the skirts of the women and girls, when their real intention was to get the 10 hours day for themselves.

The history of factory inspection laws sometimes reads like a long and shameful record of effort to create the appearance of important concessions granted to working people, for the purpose of making their lives and limbs safe and prolonging their period of health, vigor, and ability to support themselves, while really putting on the statute books one more sham, one more law made purposely non-enforceable by the introduction of "weasel words." Such a word is "knowingly." There are instances in which this sin-

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Factory Inspection Reports

The annual reports of the factory inspectors may be historical documents of great value. Reference has already been made to the epoch making reports of Mr. Leonard Horner, founder of the factory inspection service of the British Empire. In our own country, the reports of the New York State Department of Labor are the only ones which an American citizen can send abroad to European inquirers about factory inspection without profound mortification. The reports of most of the states are belated, discontinuous, incomplete, and unilluminating. They record year by year, in official form, the low standard of qualifications and of achievement of the officers to whom the states have hitherto entrusted a task which affects life and limb, health, welfare, morals, and intelligence of several million workingmen, women, and children.

A valuable annual report should give the number of establishments inspected during the year, the number of men, women, youths, and girls under 21 years of age employed in each establishment with a separate statement of the number of girls and boys below the age of sixteen years. The name of every establishment visited with the address and date of inspection should be made public, together with the changes ordered, the compliances, or failure to comply, the prosecutions and their results. There should be a clear statement of difficulties encountered which are due to de-

gle word has deprived tens of thousands of wage-earners of safeguards for life and limbs which are seemingly provided by the text of the law.

A favorite means of seeming to meet the demand for protection while really leaving evil conditions undisturbed, consists in passing an important inspection law, but striking out in the closing hours of the session all the appropriations indispensable to its enforcement. Where, as is the case in many states, the legislature meets only once in two years, this trick may cost the lives of hundreds of employes by "hanging up" necessary provisions for fire safety, or for guarding elevator shafts, stairways, hoists, and cranes.

Indeed, the amount of money appropriated year by year for salaries, traveling expenses, cost of prosecuting all violators of the law, and printing of reports, notices, etc., may be taken as an accurate test of the interest felt by the people of a state in factory inspection and the enforcement of factory laws. In some states these appropriations have grown in recent years in fair proportion to the growth of industry. In other states the contrast is grotesque between the sums spent for enforcing labor laws and the sums appropriated for the protection of fish and game, or for stamping out diseases among cattle and swine.

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west, in the states in which fruit is preserved and vegetables are canned for the market, the history is the same. Judges either impose the most trivial fine allowed by the law, or they dismiss outright employers whom the factory inspectors bring into court charged with employing children below the legal age, or keeping women or children at work beyond the legal hours.

In Illinois, the writer found it impossible to obtain the conviction of an influential glass company in the southern part of the state, which for years employed boys below the legal age and after the legal hours. The local justices in five counties refused to enforce the penalties prescribed by the statute. Only when all such cases were transferred for trial to the courts of the northern counties, could the officials of this law-breaking company be made to respect and obey the statute. In most states, however, such a transfer of cases from one part of the state to another is legally impossible, and the local justices of the peace or local magistrates have power completely to nullify the law.

In practice the transfer of cases is impossible, because of the difficulty and expense of transporting witnesses across a state. After the trial of a case is begun, a defendant can cause innumerable delays inflicting great hardship upon wage-earning witnesses kept away from their homes and their work, witness fees being poor substitutes for regular earnings. Traveling expenses and board bills for witnesses pending

trials remote from their homes are never a part of the appropriation of the factory inspectors.

Local juries also, particularly in the rural districts, are usually entirely out of sympathy with any restriction upon the freedom of contract. Such juries are, in many states, themselves the judges both as to the law and the facts, the magistrate being merely the presiding officer of the court. In the cannery districts it has sometimes happened that the local justice was a member of the accused company, and the jurors were farmers engaged in raising produce to sell to the company. The women and children concerned were Italians and Poles whose fatigue by reason of illegal overwork moved neither the judge nor the jury to pity. For the judge and the jury the factory inspectors, coming from a distant city, were hostile invaders to be repulsed as enemies. They were by no means fellow officials to be encouraged in the faithful performance of their duties in enforcing a hated restriction upon the local industry. In one summer in New York State fifty-two cases against canners were "put to sleep" by local judges and juries.

Of far more wide and reaching importance has been the attitude of the higher courts towards factory inspection. Thus, the Supreme Court of Illinois, in 1893, held the state factory law null and void because of a purely technical minor defect in its title. When the legislature corrected that defect, the law was still held unconstitutional upon the ground that it deprived

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ciently ripe judgment to estimate risks and could, therefore, not be allowed to assume them. In that case the Supreme Court of Georgia was revealed as more enlightened than the public opinion of the state, which even yet has not created a department of factory inspection, although the cotton manufacturing industry has grown rapidly and the number of women, girls, and young children employed in it increases from year to year. This is the only case known to the writer in which a court of last resort has shown itself to be in advance of the public opinion of its community.

In Pennsylvania, within the present decade, Judge Wilkin held a law null and void which provided that children between 14 and 16 years old could not be employed unless they produced one of two evidences of fitness for work. Under the statute, a boy or girl was entitled to working papers after finishing the work of five grades of the public school or, as an alternative to this, after proving its age by producing one of several kinds of documentary evidence. Judge Wilkin held, in substance, that this was as unreasonable as it would be to say that all blue-eyed children could work, but none whose eyes were black.

These illustrations indicate that factory inspection depends for its efficiency and success upon the judges and juries, as it has already been shown to depend upon the coöperation of the legislature, the civil service commission, and the qualifications of the factory inspectors.

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adult women of their property right to contract freely to work unlimited hours. Under this decision women employed in manufacture in Illinois could be required to work unlimited hours during the long period from May, 1895, to July, 1909, more than fourteen years. Only after the Supreme Court of the United States had established, in January, 1908, the broad principle that it is the right and duty of the states, to restrict the working hours of women in the interest of the public health, could the Illinois legislature restrict to 10 hours the working day of women employed in manufacture in that state, thus giving to the Illinois Supreme Court an opportunity to reverse its previous erroneous decision.

This famous case vividly illustrates the truth that a state factory inspection law is merely a trial draft until it has been sustained as constitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Even child labor provisions have been attacked in the courts and their enforcement delayed for long periods while the cases awaited adjudication. Thus in Georgia, a child of ten years injured in a cotton mill, was denied damages for serious injuries suffered in the course of his work, because the cotton mill corporation contended that he took upon himself all the risks of his occupation by the act of entering upon it. The Supreme Court of Georgia sustained the child's claim, and laid down the principle that a child of such years could not be presumed to have suffi-

If the mother-heart of the nation wants its children cared for, it must have something to say when Congress votes for its new Children's Bureau a yearly allowance less than the annual repairs on two torpedo-boat destroyers, and the same session votes away $15,000,000 of the people's taxes for one single battleship.

Common Fallacies

In spite of loving peace and hating war, an uninformed person may do the cause more harm than good. Millions of christians who abhor war applaud the war system, under the notion that great armaments alone ensure peace and that the safest nation upon the earth cannot even begin to reduce its fleet until the most exposed nation agrees to take the same step. Women are quite as likely as men to be obsessed by this dangerous fallacy.

When Theodore Roosevelt assures our sons that war promotes virility, every woman, armed with the historic facts in the "Human Harvest," by David Starr Jordan, should be able to prove to him the contrary. She can contrast the sturdy young Canadian or Nebraskan, never at war, with the puny Venezuelan or San Domingan, forever using his machete and carrying his pistol even to the polls. She can explain the downfall of Rome, Spain, and every nation that killed off the strongest of its youth and left cripples and weaklings to breed the later generations, thus reversing all our principles of breeding stock or selecting seed for the

future harvests. She should understand why peaceful China has been the one ancient nation that has survived. When anti-suffragists and militants maintain that government is based on force, the modern woman should be able to retort with Elihu Root that this adage is "less than a half truth"; and perceive that, while all governments use force, their prosperity and permanence are based far more on money, courts, commerce, the press, and the battalions of teachers who are keeping the next generation from becoming an illiterate mob, than they are upon army and navy. A republic is based chiefly upon the people's will; the government that, like ours, is so based requires the least force.

Perhaps the most dangerous fallacy which will be encountered continually in the *Outlook* and in many other able journals is that, "as long as cities require police, so long nations will require the national police, which is the navy." Now, there are two kinds of force — one that promotes justice by taking men to court — the police type; the other is the force that never aims to achieve impartial justice — the army, which merely settles which of two nations has the most men or money or best strategic position, irrespective of right or wrong. The primary function of police is to protect life and property; that of the army and navy is to menace or destroy these. Police take offenders to court. Armies and navies are the weapons of nations engaged in international dueling, and they never take their enemies to court. The police of one city never attack

the police of another. Police and militia, which are the state police, will be needed for an indefinite period, but rival armies and navies must give way to a small international police to which each nation will give its quota.

Our Enemies

The United States has no enemies without its borders. Great Britain and France are pledged to sign complete arbitration treaties with us as soon as we are ready. Spain, whom we once attacked, will never cross our path again. In our republic's history we have never been attacked and have had no wars with other European powers. Germany is isolated and, surrounded with former foes, has no ambition to commit suicide by a war with us which would leave her exposed at home, could bring her no profit, and would involve fighting the nearly one-fifth of our people who are of German stock. She is our friend, and wants to remain such. No other European nation could be thought of as making an attack on us. Japan has always been our friend, and the treaty of 1911 with her almost prohibits any possibility of war. Even were her people as ambitious and bellicose as our scaremongers paint them, it is evident that she will be too much absorbed for many years to come in the development of Korea and Formosa and her own interests in Manchuria to have any occasion to quarrel with a nation like ours, which is one of her largest customers, as well as an old friend and teacher. Should she attempt to wrest from us the

PART VIII

Peace and Arbitration

By LUCIA AMES MEAD

THE replacing of the system of war by the system of law is the most pressing reform before civilization to-day and the most hopeful of near accomplishment. It is not to be classified with other reforms and philanthropies, and to be mentally sandwiched between such interests as prison reform and public recreation. It is fundamental and in a category by itself. War between nations will cease a thousand years before crime, vice, and other violence will be abolished. It is a prerequisite to most other reforms. It must take precedence in attention, just as when children are playing with matches and kerosene, that fact must first be heeded even though the cake burns or the baby cries.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs in 1912 established a subcommittee on peace, under the department of Education, and 1,000,000 members are now called on to learn the significance of the movement and how it affects their life and pocket-book and all their charities. The first obligation is to learn to read headlines and editorials with discrimination, to spy out sophistry and refute it, and to judge reported facts with as keen an eye as that which detects imitation from real lace at the salesman's counter.

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the police of another. Police and militia, which are the state police, will be needed for an indefinite period, but rival armies and navies must give way to a small international police to which each nation will give its quota.

Our Enemies

The United States has no enemies without its borders. Great Britain and France are pledged to sign complete arbitration treaties with us as soon as we are ready. Spain, whom we once attacked, will never cross our path again. In our republic's history we have never been attacked and have had no wars with other European powers. Germany is isolated and, surrounded with former foes, has no ambition to commit suicide by a war with us which would leave her exposed at home, could bring her no profit, and would involve fighting the nearly one-fifth of our people who are of German stock. She is our friend, and wants to remain such. No other European nation could be thought of as making an attack on us. Japan has always been our friend, and the treaty of 1911 with her almost prohibits any possibility of war. Even were her people as ambitious and bellicose as our scaremongers paint them, it is evident that she will be too much absorbed for many years to come in the development of Korea and Formosa and her own interests in Manchuria to have any occasion to quarrel with a nation like ours, which is one of her largest customers, as well as an old friend and teacher. Should she attempt to wrest from us the

their protection from invasion by the solemn pledge of a still larger number of nations. Thus the islands would be relieved from the need of navy and coast defenses.

Non-intercourse will be a far more effective defense than dreadnaughts, as soon as nations embody it in laws and treaties as a penalty for failure to do justice or keep pledges. This is the political equivalent of the Christian injunction, "And if he refuse to hear the Church (i. e., refuses to arbitrate) also, let him be unto thee as the heathen and the publican." Even the sporadic and unofficial boycott of our cotton goods some years ago was effective in bringing concessions from our government. The Chinese, without a navy, have effectually used this method also in punishing Japan about the Tatsu Maru affair. When a nation of 400,000,000 presently becomes able officially to threaten stoppage of mails and trade with any nation that imposes on it, it will need no dreadnaughts of its own to render impotent against it all the dreadnaughts of the world. The principle of non-intercourse, if it were once incorporated into international law, would probably never be applied. The certainty that it could be applied would suffice.

What Makes Wars and Prevents Them

Wars are far less frequent and bloody than in the past, but war preparations, as the Czar declared in his Manifesto of 1898, calling The Hague Conference, are

bringing about "the very cataclysm they are designed to avert." The most active promoters of the war system are the army and navy leagues, those officers who are weary of mere manœuvres, and want promotions, and the "armor-plate press," with the lobbyists employed by the makers of armaments. The labor world has acumen enough to see that militarism is dangerous to it and to democracy. But the average American is serenely oblivious to the whole matter, knows nothing of our real dangers, and is scared by the bogies conjured up by the outcries of the Mahans and Hobsons and Leonard Woods about "our unprotected coasts," "loss of national prestige," "defeat of the Monroe Doctrine," etc. He lets the cost of our navy increase six-hundred per cent in order to be ready for non-existent enemies, and leaves ignorance, waste, and disease to eat out our vitals.

The current notion that the war system can end only with the metamorphosis of human nature is responsible for widespread apathy. The Italian provinces and cities, in constant strife in Dante's day, are all at peace with each other, not because human nature has changed, but because Italy is organized. Peace and order reign between Essex and Kent, between Scots and English, though once they were at each other's throats. Organization, not change of human nature, is the magic method of breaking down barriers, federating parts of a large whole, and ending war by removing its causes. Civil war, murders, and lynching may occur much

Philippines, which have cost us, directly and indirectly, nearly a billion dollars to take from a weak people and hold, she would require half her army and navy to guard her own shores from her old enemies Russia and China, and she would have a more appalling bill to pay than we have had. Her strength was depleted by her two recent wars and her people are suffering from the loss of their bravest and best, and from excessive taxation. Missionaries in Japan unite in opposing the wanton, wicked attacks made by fire-eaters and the yellow press in America upon this modest, aspiring nation which counts our friendship one of its chief assets. Said Ambassador Wright: "The talk of war with Japan is not even respectable nonsense."

Still less is attack to be feared from China, a peace-loving country, in which the greatest romance in history is now taking place, inspired by youth taught in our own universities, and who covet our friendship. Of course, no danger threatens us upon this continent. The one hundred years of peace with Canada, because of the disarmament along our frontier line; the certainty that no nation to the south of us has aught against us except suspicion of our increasing militarism, show that no war will ever occur except, as in the case of our Mexican war, by our initiative. But we have terrible dangers within. Life and property are annually sacrificed as if we were waging continual war. Our republic has lost less than 15,000 men by foreign bullets in all its three foreign wars com-

Federation of Churches, including seventeen denominations, and the labor parties, are now pledged to it. Through the centuries, great men of insight before Kant's day were John the Baptists of the movement. Time fails to tell of the great work in the seventeenth century of Hugo Grotius, the father of international law; of George Fox and William Penn; of the peace men among the founders of the republic, notably Franklin, Washington, and Jay; of the great New Englanders of the nineteenth century, among them Sumner, Channing, and Burritt, and their European contemporaries, Cobden, Victor Hugo, and Passy. These all wrought out the plans of federation and arbitration and the refutation of all pleas for the war system which left little more for future generations to do but to embody their plans in law.

The Czar's Manifesto in 1898, calling the twenty-six nations which had ambassadors at his court to consider limitation of armaments, will be celebrated for thousands of years hence as the first great political act for world peace, marking an epoch in world history. The Conference met May 18, 1899, at The Hague, and, spite of much apathy and skepticism at first, its three commissions under the presidency of De Staal worked valiantly. The Permanent Court of Arbitration was agreed on with a panel of many judges appointed by the different countries, from which five were to be chosen upon occasion to settle each difference submitted by two powers. After the conventions were

finally ratified, the Court was installed and ready for work in April, 1901. The fine new building donated for the Court by Mr. Carnegie, after much delay, was dedicated August 28, 1913. In much less time than it took the Supreme Court of the United States to receive its first case, The Hague Court settled its first case, sent by the United States and Mexico. This was a long-standing case involving money, known as the Pious Fund case. Since then about a dozen other cases have been passed upon, and still others have been settled by diplomacy out of court.

Besides arbitration, the first Hague Conference provided for commissions of Inquiry and for Mediation. During the Russo-Japanese war, some English fishing vessels were fired on by the Russian fleet in its passage through the North Sea by the Dogger Bank; Great Britain was ablaze with fury, and war might have been declared, had not an impartial commission of Inquiry, composed of admirals, summoned by France, calmly investigated the occurrence. The Russians were found to have blundered without malice, and their ready payment of $300,000 to the widows and orphans healed the breach. By President Roosevelt's employment of mediation, the Russo-Japanese war was ended by the Portsmouth Treaty, one of the greatest romances of history. Thus, in about five years, a World Court was established, cases tried, one war averted and one ended, simply because one hundred men, in 1899, at The Hague, in time of peace, prepared for permanent peace.

The second Hague Conference, in 1907, was called by Russia, with the consent of President Roosevelt, who, two years previously, had taken the initiative for it, but had been obliged to wait until the Russo-Japanese war was ended and the Pan-American Conference had been held. This time, forty-four powers were united and representatives of 96 per cent of the world's population met under one roof for a four months' arduous task. They agreed upon the establishment of a Court of Arbitral Justice to supplement the present court and to settle questions by law instead of arbitration. Its small number of judges, yet to be appointed, will meet regularly at The Hague. The Porter-Drago doctrine, by which the Conference agreed to send the collection of contractual debts to arbitration, withdraws much threatened danger from South America. Among other things, the Conference provided for a third Hague Conference about the year 1915, and its program to be agreed upon two years earlier This means that there will be not only a third but a thirteenth and a thirtieth Conference. It is the definite germ of a World Legislature.

While some small powers have agreed to arbitrate every difference with each other, President Taft was the first executive of a great power who offered to leave every question of an international character to arbitration. Great Britain and France gladly signed his proposed treaty of 1912, but ratification by the Senate failed by one or two votes of securing the necessary two-thirds majority. This was a world calamity.

Germany and Japan would doubtless have followed suit in signing such treaties and the celebration in 1914 of our hundred years' peace with Great Britain would have been crowned with the glory of the greatest achievement in modern history. The reflex influence on the world would have been stupendous.

Modern Agencies for Peace

A recent epoch-making book, "The Great Illusion," by Norman Angell, should be placed in every public library and studied by every one who wants new light on the commanding cause of our day. This book, translated into twenty-two languages, shows why investors and bankers, not admirals nor generals, are the controlling forces under the new economic conditions which have brought about international interdependence. Now that every nation is customer and buyer of every other; now that capital flows across all boundary lines, the old shibboleths and fallacies that "trade follows the flag"; that colonies are worth fighting for; that victory can bring any economic advantage, must be abandoned. The average business man knows as little of the political bearing of this as the old-time farmer knew of chemistry of soils. Yet it vitally touches his purse, and every reform measure that good citizens are striving for. "The Unseen Empire," by David Starr Jordan, reveals the hidden wires that are being pulled to influence parliaments to vote huge armaments and to sustain the rivalries that are driving nations toward

the abyss of bankruptcy, and that so largely explain the high cost of living. These books deal with the most fascinating of problems. They enable the reader to present something fresh and novel in her conversation.

New agencies are at hand to supply a million readers with fact and argument, at nominal cost or none. The World Peace Foundation,[1] endowed by Edwin Ginn with $50,000 a year, to spread education on the Peace Movement, through its publication of the International Library and its outpouring of pertinent leaflets, may always be appealed to for information, advice, and lecturers. The Carnegie Endowment of International Peace,[2] endowed with $10,000,000, besides much larger undertakings, spends much money abroad and gives annual aid to the American Peace Society,[3] with which state branches and various other organizations are coöperating. The American School Peace League,[4] which is the best organized body in the world for promoting in the schools the better teaching of history, patriotism, and peace, has state branches in nearly all the states.

Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, when in middle life, tried for some years in England and America to arouse mothers to organized work for peace, but came to see that they needed the preliminary training of the women's clubs to develop efficiency and coöperation.

[1] Address, 40 Mount Vernon St., Boston, Mass.
[2] Address, Washington, D. C.
[3] Address, Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.
[4] Address, Sec. Mrs. Andrews, 405 Marlborough St., Boston,

finally ratified, the Court was installed and ready for work in April, 1901. The fine new building donated for the Court by Mr. Carnegie, after much delay, was dedicated August 28, 1913. In much less time than it took the Supreme Court of the United States to receive its first case, The Hague Court settled its first case, sent by the United States and Mexico. This was a long-standing case involving money, known as the Pious Fund case. Since then about a dozen other cases have been passed upon, and still others have been settled by diplomacy out of court.

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ments. Facts must be gotten from authorities, but one can carry on mentally much profitable debate when sewing or going to market. Count it a patriotic service to do some real thinking of your own upon world problems. Charles Sumner's address on "The True Grandeur of Nations" will help you to foundation principles, and Norman Angell and Dr. Jordan give you the modern business facts that most men do not know.

Begin in your nursery to be a peace reformer. Buy toy fire engines instead of toy cannon. Give your grammar school boy the fully illustrated "Friendship of the Nations." Give your high school boy "The Pride of War," a vivid, Kiplingesque story of the Turko-Italian war. It will convey its own moral; do not rub it in; let his new ideas "soak." Ask the high school master whether he knows about the Seabury peace prizes for his seniors. Ask the school superintendent whether he encourages observance of Peace Day — May 18 — in the schools. Learn whether your congressman belongs to the American group of the Interparliamentary Union, and how he will vote on the naval and pension bills. Ask your public library to purchase the "International Library" and other peace literature here recommended. Ask the clergy to preach one peace sermon every year, and supply them with fresh material, so that they may supplement the Golden Rule with up-to-date statistics. If you are in a suffrage state, vote for peace men. See that your club devotes one session annually to vital news on peace, and starts a class, how-

ever small, for the study of our international relations.* Suggest to friends who may make bequests that, as the peace cause has only the cost of one battleship for propaganda in the whole world, it needs millions of dollars more. The School Peace League alone should have an income of $50,000 a year to reach half a million teachers. A modest little woman who never could make a speech may make a superb peace missionary if she only cares. A tiny taper may light a thousand candles.

* See "Outline of Lessons on War and Peace," World Peace Foundation.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW. PART VIII

1. How would replacing war by law affect commerce? education? charities? all human activity?

2. What could the price of a battleship do to save human life? What is the basis of government?

3. How do police functions differ from those of army and navy? What will be the ultimate physical force used to keep order between nations?

4. When and how did Great Britain and France pledge complete arbitration treaties with us? How were our three foreign wars begun?

5. What grounds are there for no fear of attack from other nations? What are our nation's real dangers?

6. How do losses from our defective civilization compare with those of war? For what different purposes must the one-third of our federal revenue left for constructive purposes be used?

7. Why do we not need a navy to protect our whole length of coastline? What can non-intercourse, if made a legal penalty, accomplish?

8. Why is civil war in a different category from international war, and why will the latter end first?

9. What are several causes of the maintenance of the war system? What are the new agencies for ending war?

It was her love for peace which led her to the promotion of club work. No woman in the world has done so much for the cause of peace as the Nobel prize-winner, Baroness von Suttner, author of "Lay Down Your Arms," lecturer and publicist, whose lecture tours through America and whose brilliant and illuminating "Memoirs," with her own winning personality, have made her friends upon two continents.

Suggestions as to What to Do

First, read enough to be convinced and to realize that the peace question at this psychologic moment is the greatest of all world questions. As the first duty of an educated woman is to perceive relative values and recognize what is of primary importance, even though daily duties permit no time to be given to it, choose this great preventive rather than many little palliatives for your life enthusiasm and learn how to relate the immigrant problem, your Sunday-school work, your study of modern languages, your foreign travel — in short, your humanitarian interests — to it. Then join a peace society and study, if possible, how to convince others. Ask your friends whether they want a navy of our present size, to have the Panama Canal fortified, and target shooting in the schools. If so, why? When your neighbor says that "a great navy is a guarantee of peace" and a "cheap insurance"; that making guns "makes money circulate," unless you are able to refute these fallacies, send to peace headquarters for argu-

ments. Facts must be gotten from authorities, but one can carry on mentally much profitable debate when sewing or going to market. Count it a patriotic service to do some real thinking of your own upon world problems. Charles Sumner's address on "The True Grandeur of Nations" will help you to foundation principles, and Norman Angell and Dr. Jordan give you the modern business facts that most men do not know.

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come industrialism as represented by the manufacturing interests, bringing pressure to bear to make of the elementary school a vocational training school for shop and factory.

The demand of different social elements for recognition in the curriculum, as it ceases to be the demand of one or two, and becomes inclusive of all classes, will finally democratize education, and make it what the founders of the nation saw it must be if we were to survive,— the natural foundation and defense of a just government. The struggle of the past and present and immediate future is to save the schools from exploitation. The ultimate problem will be to make them accessible and indispensable to all the people.

The continual widening of the scope of the schools, and the conflict of opinion among educators as to their function, make it necessary in this brief sketch to put the emphasis upon tendencies rather than upon accomplishment.

Public Schools in the Colonial Period

The first American colonists were among the most enlightened and energetic people of the seventeenth century. Whether religious dissenters like the New England Puritans, Pennsylvania Quakers, and Carolina sectaries, practical people like the New York Dutchmen, or ambitious gentlemen adventurers and artisans of Cavalier Virginia and Maryland, almost their first care on landing in the wilderness was to

set up schools, where the children of rich and poor might learn to read, write, and cipher. The two schools first founded, one in New Amsterdam in 1633, the other, the famous Boston Latin School, in 1635, are still in existence. The first was an elementary school, the second a preparatory school for Harvard College.

The colonial idea of education was two-fold. First, the children of farmers, tradesmen, and laborers were to have an elementary school education, supplemented by home training or apprenticeship to a trade, to enable them to become productive members of the community. The very first school laws recognize the necessity of technical and industrial training, but regard it as properly given in the home or by the "binding out" system. Second, the brighter children of all classes were to have a secondary school training, and from their number were to come the favored few who went to college and eventually became the professional men and political leaders of the commonwealth.

A prime concern of the Puritans was that educated leaders, bred in the principles of the fathers, should not fail in the next generation. Hence their first recorded schools were a preparatory school and a college. Elementary education, on the other hand, was left to shift for itself for a few years, with legislative admonitions to parents and guardians that they do their duty by the children.

In 1642 the General Court of Massachusetts laid it upon the selectmen of every town to see that the children were taught to read, understand the capital laws, were catechised, and put to some useful occupation. Penalties were defined for neglectful parents, but were so generally disregarded that in 1647 the General Court passed the law, so justly famous in the annals of our history:

"That learning may not be buried in the grave of our forefathers in the church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors, it is therefore ordered that every township in this jurisdiction . . . to the number of fifty householders shall forthwith appoint one within their town to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read, whose wages shall be paid, either by the parents or masters of such children, *or by the inhabitants in general.* And it is further ordered that where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families . . . they shall set up a grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the university; provided that if any town neglect the performance hereof above one year, that every such town shall pay five pounds to the next school, till they shall perform this order."

This celebrated law is said to be the first governmental assumption in modern times of education as a civil function. Connecticut and New Hampshire soon followed the example of Massachusetts, in passing

compulsory school laws, and Maryland adopted certain provisions of the Connecticut law.

Schools having been made obligatory, the next problem was to devise means for their support. At first this was done by fees paid by the pupils. But as the poor could not pay, Dedham, Massachusetts, in 1649, took the momentous step of levying a community tax to support its school. The enlightened example of Dedham was by no means generally followed. Public or private endowment of free schools was the more popular method of providing funds. In 1640 Rhode Island voted one hundred acres of land as endowment for a "school for the encouragement of the poorer sort to train up their youth in learning." In the South, wealthy planters gave to free schools land, domestic animals, and occasionally slaves to carry on the work of the estate.

In colonial times, the colleges, regarded as the most important branch of education, were for the most part governed by close corporations. The secondary schools existed primarily as college preparatory institutions, and were partly public, partly private in organization. Between the secondary or grammar schools and the elementary schools, the latter under public control, a hiatus existed, while between the public elementary schools and the private "dame schools," or primary schools, another gap yawned. Thus it will be seen that all the elements of a complete system of education existed before the Revolution, but in a chaotic,

unsynthetized state, and generally accessible to boys only. Girls were taught at home or in "misses' schools." It was reserved for the century following the Revolution to bring together and make of these hetereogeneous elements an orderly state system of education, beginning with the kindergarten and ending with the graduate department of the university, open and free to boys and girls alike.

Development of State School Systems

The period immediately following the Revolution was one of financial stringency. Economy had already opened the elementary schools to girls before the Revolution, first allowing them to be taught after regular hours, and during the summer months. Presently, as the turbulent times of the Revolution recede, out of the obscurity of traditional ignorance and obedience, the daughters of the Revolution appear and begin to throng the barriers set up between them and the secondary schools. It did not escape the attention of the teachers of that day that female children were hungering for what the male children for the most part had to have flogged into them. Pedagogs fortified themselves with the theory that such avidity was contrary to social order, that it betrayed the superficial curiosity of feeble intellects. To the historian of today, seeing what it portended to the woman movement of the future, the vision of those girls crowding in upon the frontiers of learning is like the

gathering of the Germans along the Rhine and the Danube before the fall of the Roman Empire.

Contemporaneously with the admission of girls into the elementary schools, there began sweeping changes in secondary education, which in time extended to the colleges above and the elementary schools below them. The old college preparatory grammar school was narrow and rigid in its course of study. Changes came about in response to a two-fold movement. The first was the effort of a few enlightened men and women to create a state system of education which should fill the needs of all classes. The second was the demand of expanding business interests that the secondary schools furnish youth trained to enter the commercial world.

Early leaders were well acquainted with the social theories of French philosophers. Voltaire had declared education to be a government undertaking, Diderot had outlined for Catherine II of Russia a state university, with suggestion of agricultural and business schools designed to educate the whole people. Turgot held that the study of citizenship should be the foundation of all mental training.

Franklin and Jefferson were deeply influenced by these theories, and embodied them in their own schemes for popular education. Jefferson in particular drew up a prospectus for a complete state educational system for Virginia. But it was New York which first attempted to put the French idea into com-

plete operation. In 1784, the University of New York, including the collegiate and secondary schools of the state, was founded. It was originally intended to include the elementary schools, also. The "New York System," with its state Regents' Examinations, has been bitterly assailed and ardently defended, but it can be said impartially that the New York secondary schools are so standardized that a regents' certificate is accepted throughout the country as equivalent to examination. New York further aided its secondary schools, in 1813, by the establishment of a permanent "Literature Fund."

Georgia, Louisiana, and Michigan set up state systems similar to that of New York, while Maryland, Wisconsin, and California took suggestions from it.

The state of Indiana was surprisingly advanced from the first. In 1816, the state legislature voted for a complete system of schools from primary to college. The Illinois legislature, from 1819 on, incorporated and assisted many secondary schools. A significant sign of the times is seen in the charter of one of these, which stipulates that "only *useful knowledge* is to be taught."

During these years, state and national governments voted money and granted public lands for the support of the schools. In the elder states, money was given in lieu of land, in the West and South, lands were appropriated. The idea was firmly established by the middle of the nineteenth century that free schools cov-

compulsory school laws, and Maryland adopted certain provisions of the Connecticut law.

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cators. For the next fifty years, the high school struggled with the academy for the ascendancy. The latter was in its prime during the 40's and 50's, began to decline with the close of the Civil War, and virtually ceased to be important in the 80's. In its place, the state had built up a secondary school in which "useful knowledge" was beginning to wax fat and kick.

The high school won out by offering free what the academy offered for a fee. But, as happens so often, because of the predominating clamor of one need, and its satisfaction, the age experienced the illusion that it had devised a training adapted to all its needs. As a matter of fact, "useful knowledge," as then interpreted, was limited to mean a training which would insure to the high school graduate a position as clerk, agent, stenographer, book-keeper, or office assistant in the business world. It took no account of the farm, factory, or mine; it was concerned with distribution, not production; with buying and selling, not making things to buy and sell. Secondary education in the 70's and 80's came to be popularly measured in dollars and cents as a distributive business training. It shouldered into the background that ideal of all the world's great educators that education should be a training of all man's powers in order that he might live the fullest life. It substituted the notion that the schoolroom was the portal of the bank and the real estate office.

But its triumph was brief. A new and more for-

plete operation. In 1784, the University of New York, including the collegiate and secondary schools of the state, was founded. It was originally intended to include the elementary schools, also. The "New York System," with its state Regents' Examinations, has been bitterly assailed and ardently defended, but it can be said impartially that the New York secondary schools are so standardized that a regents' certificate is accepted throughout the country as equivalent to examination. New York further aided its secondary schools, in 1813, by the establishment of a permanent "Literature Fund."

Georgia, Louisiana, and Michigan set up state systems similar to that of New York, while Maryland, Wisconsin, and California took suggestions from it.

The state of Indiana was surprisingly advanced from the first. In 1816, the state legislature voted for a complete system of schools from primary to college. The Illinois legislature, from 1819 on, incorporated and assisted many secondary schools. A significant sign of the times is seen in the charter of one of these, which stipulates that "only *useful knowledge* is to be taught."

During these years, state and national governments voted money and granted public lands for the support of the schools. In the elder states, money was given in lieu of land, in the West and South, lands were appropriated. The idea was firmly established by the middle of the nineteenth century that free schools cov-

ering every stage of education should be provided and supported by the state. In the West and South, it was easy to start state universities of higher education. In the East, where well-endowed private colleges had preempted the field, state universities have scarcely obtained a foothold.

DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

The Old Academies

That Illinois school, incorporated in 1826 on condition that "only useful knowledge was to be taught," marks a new popular conception of education. To satisfy this demand that the school furnish practical instruction, a new type of school, called academy, was developed at the close of the Revolution.

The first of the academies proper were the twin Phillips Academies of Andover, Massachusetts, opened 1778, and of Exeter, New Hampshire, opened 1783. They were founded and handsomely endowed by the Phillips family, and offered a broader course of study than did the public grammar schools of the time.

The need of a new type of schooling, flexible to new demands, was apparent, and the Phillips Academies were soon imitated by similar institutions in all parts of the country. Sometimes well-endowed, oftener poor and depending on fees for support, they grappled with the problem of giving a popular education. Some were boarding schols, some day schools; some were co-educational, some for one sex. Each

midable Pharaoh of public education arose, and in its turn shouldered aside the business theory. More formidable, because it did not stop with the secondary, but went down into the elementary school, where it is today shaping with an iron hand the destiny of millions of the workers of the future.

The Advent of Industrialism

The Centennial of 1876 marks a new epoch in American education. Among the foreign exhibits at the Exposition was the manual arts exhibit of the Russian peasants, which was a revelation of the value of hand work in school training. At once, steps were taken by Runkel and Woodward, two wideawake and progressive educators, to put manual training into the American high school. Boston and St. Louis led the way, and within twenty years manual training was in the high schools of every state.

But general criticism accompanied its acceptance. As taught, its superficial and fragmentary character rendered it inadequate as a training for any mechanical industry. It failed to realize the hope that it would counteract the tendency on the part of boys to drop out of the grades at the legal age when they might go to work, and would induce them to go on into the high school. To accomplish these aims, it was necessary to introduce distinct industrial courses, — carpentry, shop-work, electrical machine-work, plumbing, masonry, blacksmithing for the boys,— and

for the girls, domestic science, sewing, and factory machine-work. During the last dozen years, such courses have become so popular that high schools devoted to what is called "vocational training," to distinguish it from manual training, have been established in our principal cities.

The introduction of industrial education side by side with commercial and so-called cultural education is the last stage in the development of the high school to the present time. The principle that the public schools must furnish training for a practical life as full and varied as the people demand has been established, and that the high schools are the people's colleges the increasing attendance abundantly proves.

The spectacle of the modern city high school, with its shops, library, laboratories, gymnasium, swimming-pool, auditorium, and picture-hung and statue-decorated halls and classrooms, fills the visitor with pride in the enlightened public opinion which has created such an institution. But there is a reverse side to the picture. *Of the twenty-five million children of school age in the United States, only one million got into the high school in 1912; of these, only twenty-five thousand boys and eighty-two thousand girls were graduated. That is, only one in twenty-five of our children get any glimpse of secondary school education, and only one in about two hundred children profit by these schools which the whole people are taxed to support.* This is the skeleton in the closet, and to

explain it, it is necessary to trace the development of the elementary school, noting causes of present conditions in grade and high schools alike.

THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Elementary schools were opened as soon as the colonists had settled in this country, and were almost from the first accepted as a public trust. Nevertheless they, with the kindergarten, have been the latest branch of the school system to receive the benefit of scientific attention. In the beginning, they offered instruction in the "Three R's," and for two hundred years taught nothing more. In the early days, the schoolmaster held school a certain number of weeks in one part of the township, and then went to a neighboring locality for a corresponding term. The teacher's salary was small, paid by pupils' fees, usually farm produce in part, and a supplementary tax paid by the community to make up the fees of children of the poor. Each child was supposed to furnish one or more loads of wood for heating the schoolroom.

After the Revolution, six states incorporated in their constitutions articles requiring the establishment of public schools. In the southern states and Ohio, there was no common school system before 1820. The custom of well-to-do families paying fees, and the town paying the fees of the poor, tended to the withdrawal of paying pupils to private schools and the abandonment of the pauperized public schools to the

management of indifferent trustees. To remedy these evils, a general school tax soon took the place of the fee system.

As population increased, the original township school, which had traveled about its territory like a circuit court, became split up into stationary "district schools." The immediate effect of this multiplication, especially in the country regions, was to weaken and impoverish the schools. During the first quarter of the nineteenth century, school laws were laxly administered, and less than half the children of school age were in school at any given time. Illiteracy, pauperism, and drunkenness became so general that something had to be done.

About this time it happened that the first American students who had gone to foreign countries to complete their schooling were returning home, bringing with them German, Swiss, French, Dutch, and Scotch ideas of elementary education. Beginning with an article on Pestalozzi in the *National Intelligencer* in 1806, magazine articles and books on education became common. Educational associations were formed which reflected the ideas of a group of vigorous young thinkers and writers in New England. The first educational journal was started in New York in 1818. By the 30's this movement had attained to such proportions that it is now known as the Educational Revival. To it we owe our first and greatest school reformer, Horace Mann.

Mann was secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education during the first twelve years of its existence. It is interesting to note that the Transcendental Club and the Board of Education were formed the same year, 1837. Mann had been a successful lawyer and legislator. He was a man of ardent enthusiasm, and at once began to cover the state in "missionary journeys," holding meetings, teachers' institutes, visiting schools, lecturing, writing controversial articles, arousing popular interest in what was to him the most vital institution in the commonwealth. The record of his activities is almost incredible. His annual reports are historic documents, marking the advent of a new kind of common school.

Horace Mann believed in secular schools, centralized state control of them, state normal schools, the abolition of the "district system," a broader course of study which should produce well-balanced men and women with a physical knowledge of the world they lived in. He lost no time in rousing against him all the reactionists of the day. Because he ruled that the Bible must be read without comment in the schools, he was assailed by the religious press as a godless destroyer of youth. Because he discontinued the rod as the mainstay of learning, and regarded the teaching force of his day as ill-trained, inefficient, and far behind that of several countries in Europe, he was feared and disliked by the majority of teachers. He was hated by politicians because of his incorruptible

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Women Teachers and Kindergartens

After the Civil War, large numbers of women found themselves thrown upon their own resources, and the better educated of these turned to teaching as a means of earning a livelihood. Thus began the movement of women to displace men as teachers in the elementary or grade schools. Women had always taught primary classes, and they naturally took the lower grades at first. In 1911, of the 533,000 elementary teachers in the United States 423,000 were women. In 1870, the percentage of men teachers was 41; in 1911, 20.7.

Another fact which had important bearing upon the increase of the number of women teachers, was the importation from Germany of the Kindergarten by Elizabeth Peabody, of Boston, in 1868, and its adoption in 1873 into the public school system of St. Louis by W. T. Harris, then City Superintendent of Schools, afterwards United States Commissioner of Education. Owing to the wise direction of Mr. Harris, the experiment was so successful in St. Louis that within a generation, 189 cities had public school kindergartens.

The theory underlying the kindergarten, put into practice by Frederick Froebel in 1840, is the supreme contribution of modern times to the science of education. It is the democratization of that exalted Greek ideal which included music, oratory and athletics in the school curriculum. It brings back into education the aim of setting free the entire nature, through the training of hand, and eye, and foot, to execute the

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who go out to work at fourteen in the northern states, at twelve or younger in the southern, with a delusive shadow of industrial education before they can possibly know to what kind of life they are best adapted, we are recruiting the ever yawning ranks of unskilled and casual labor, and the menacing horde of the unemployed. (See diagram page 2761, showing the very small per cent of children who get through college.)

To mitigate the evil, the schools of Boston, Chicago, and several other cities are endeavoring to coöperate with charitable organizations, which have established free employment bureaus for children who must go to work at fourteen. These bureaus attempt to place applicants to the best advantage. Within the schools, vocational guidance by means of committees of teachers of experience is being introduced. Children are examined to find out their tastes and talents, and are advised as to which trade or industry to enter and are put into classes accordingly.

This is merely making the best of a bad situation, and all educators are agreed that a plan must be devised which shall extricate the schools from the danger of becoming child-labor employment agencies. Several plans are advocated, proposed to meet the necessity of those children who must support themselves.

1. The first proposal is that children who must go to work at fourteen continue their education up to the age of sixteen in part time schools at the employers' expense. There is objection to this on the part of

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manufacturers' idea of what a worker's education should be. The disadvantages and dangers of such a system of manufacturers' private schools are obvious.

3. A third proposal, now operating in Cincinnati, Fitchburg, and Providence, is that the schools and manufacturers coöperate, the schools furnishing cultural and theoretical training, the shops and factories furnishing industrial training. The objection to this plan is that factories are run for profit, not for teaching purposes.

4. A fourth plan is in successful operation in the Williamson (Pennsylvania) Free School of Mechanical Trades. This school takes contracts for municipal jobs, puts its pupils to work upon them, and thus supports itself while giving practical experience in actual constructive operations. But trade schools are open to two serious objections in as far as they concern elementary education: they segregate the workers, and tend to draw class lines in a democratic school system; they require a very expensive equipment in order to offer equal advantages to all applicants.

The problems brought in the wake of the introduction of vocational training into the grades are so vital and far-reaching that their solution will necessitate a basic reorganization of our whole theory and practice of education. So far, our attempts at solution have been putting new patches on old garments. The ultimate and rational solution will be to make of our common schools a place where every child, rich and

poor, is taught to do some kind of work, to understand the three economic processes of production, distribution, and consumption, and is well-grounded in the principles of health and morality.

When *all* children are trained for some occupation, when they *all* are taught the interdependence of these occupations, when they *all* are trained to be consumers of good food, good art, good music, good books, good clothes, when they learn through these that morality and courtesy are indispensable to happiness and progress,— then and then only we shall have learned the true mission of industrialism in education.

The industrializing of the schools is the safeguarding of society, but it must be thorough, not partial; democratic, not proletarian. As it proceeds, the age limit of compulsory schooling will be raised, so that eventually such schooling will include university training for all who desire it, and along with these advantages, facilities will be afforded to all children to work *and be paid for their work* as a necessary part of their education. These improvements may come about through the state becoming the employer of the school children and paying them, as it now employs convicts upon roads, farms, and public works; or the manufacturing and business interests of the country may enter into a state-regulated coöperation with the schools to furnish practical industrial training, and pay for all work done. This is the only child-labor the future will permit, labor which will develop the grow-

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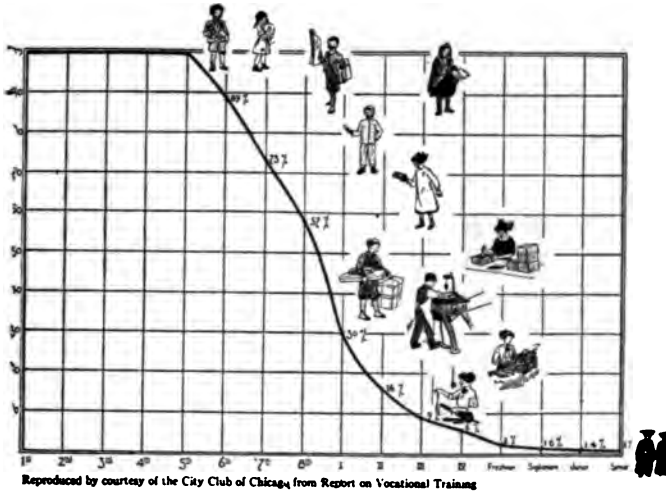

Elementary Schools High Schools Colleges

DOES A SCHOOL SYSTEM AIMED AT THE COLLEGE HIT THE MARK?

Adapted from a chart by Mr. E. A. Wreidt, showing the percentage of pupils retained in Chicago public schools, 1910, to indicate occupations open to children leaving school, and how but between one and two per cent out of one hundred finally get through college. (From "Open Air Crusaders.")

manufacturers who feel that they should not bear the burden of educating their employees.

2. The second proposal is an alternative to the first, and is now in practical operation in the Westinghouse manufacturing plant in Pittsburgh, and other mercantile establishments. These employers maintain a school of their own in connection with their industrial plants for such of their employees as are required to attend school, the instruction offered being according to the

manufacturers' idea of what a worker's education should be. The disadvantages and dangers of such a system of manufacturers' private schools are obvious.

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order to secure the best teachers and equipment, the consolidated rural school is taking the place of the old district school. Wagons transport the children who live at a distance from their homes to the school and back again. In these schools, the advantages over the old schools of larger libraries and other equipment, better teachers, garden and land for the study of horticulture and agriculture, with a new and enlarged social life, are drawing the attention of northern educators to the possibilities of the country school. School clubs for cultural and occupational advancement have been formed to which local merchants offer prizes for the best products. Seeds are furnished by the United States Department of Agriculture, and emulation among the girls in raising and preparing food stuffs for market, among the boys in raising corn especially, have answered the encouragement of national government and local business interests.

Scarcely half the southern states have compulsory school laws, while about the same number have child labor laws which make twelve years the legal age for work. The new pride and activity in educational matters, however, are rapidly helping to change public opinion, and remedial labor legislation is in sight.

Iowa and Minnesota are equally bent on improving the rural schools, Governor Eberhart of the latter state being especially active. Rural consolidated schools have been established, also, in Montgomery County, Indiana, and Trumbull County, Ohio.

SCHOOLS FOR EXCEPTIONAL PUPILS

Open Air Schools

Along with the movement for vocational training, much has been done for sub-normal, exceptional and defective children. Separate schools for delinquents were established long ago. Later, schools or classes for blind and deaf and dumb children were organized. Evening schools now offer instruction to adult foreigners and others who are unable to attend day school. Provision is increasingly being made for defective or backward children in all the larger cities.

One of the most popular of recent experiments with retarded children is the open air school. A large percentage of failures to keep up to grade is due to illness, mal-nutrition, tuberculosis, and other preventable causes. Germany was the first country to try the open air school, as a remedy for these conditions, with such success that in 1908 Providence and Boston adopted the Charlottenburg plan. Since then, it has become widely popular here. It has been found that most backward children, when put into the open air and fed upon nutritious food, in a few weeks' time do as well in their studies as do normal children in regular classrooms. They become healthy, accomplish more with less study than in the regular classes, and in every way exemplify the wisdom of making fresh air and wholesome food requirements for all children in the public schools. So far as known, the

SCHOOLGRAMS.

WHAT shall it profit a child if he gain the whole curriculum and lose his health?

THE only air available from dark till sunrise is "night air." Breathe it.

TWO things of which there is enough for all—fresh air and sunshine. Get yours.

SWITZERLAND requires her school children to be in the open air at least ten minutes out of every school hour.

TEACH your children to make a childhood friend of the open air.

A QUESTION that should be asked about the ventilating system of every school—Does it ventilate?

THE only night air that is injurious is last night's. Open the window and let it out.

By SHERMAN C. KINGSLEY

Copyright by Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund.

much larger number of pupils than would be the case under the old system. The school year is arranged so that teachers and pupils may take their two months' vacation at any time during the year.

The Wirt idea is being adapted in the schools of Chicago, New York, and other cities. In New York City, in the year 1913, it is enabling the school authorities to accommodate seventy thousand children who would otherwise have been unable to get into schools for lack of room. However, this much lauded result is certainly open to criticism, unless it is accompanied by corresponding expansion in several departments of the educational plant.

Industrialism is revolutionizing the schools of the southern states as well as of the North. Since eighty-five per cent of the population of these states live on farms, the prevailing form of industrial education there is agricultural. The expansion of local mining and manufacturing industries, with their accompanying curse of child labor, have aroused the South to extraordinary efforts to meet this danger to her children. Free segregated schools for whites and negroes were established immediately after the Civil War. Today, according to the report of the United States Commissioner of Education, the South, with a generosity unparalleled in other sections of the country, is appropriating more than a third of her general taxes for educational purposes. Her program includes industrial training for both races and both sexes. In

order to secure the best teachers and equipment, the consolidated rural school is taking the place of the old district school. Wagons transport the children who live at a distance from their homes to the school and back again. In these schools, the advantages over the old schools of larger libraries and other equipment, better teachers, garden and land for the study of horticulture and agriculture, with a new and enlarged social life, are drawing the attention of northern educators to the possibilities of the country school. School clubs for cultural and occupational advancement have been formed to which local merchants offer prizes for the best products. Seeds are furnished by the United States Department of Agriculture, and emulation among the girls in raising and preparing food stuffs for market, among the boys in raising corn especially, have answered the encouragement of national government and local business interests.

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Jewish Women, the National Congress of Mothers, the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, and the Southern Association of College Women, through their affiliated education departments in 1908 were admitted as the Department of National Organizations of Women into the National Education Association. The purpose of this department is to "bring the home and the school into more helpful relation."

The movement to make of the schools common meeting places for residents of the neighborhood, has received powerful local and state backing in several widely separated parts of the country. In New York City, where school buildings were opened to boys' and girls' clubs as early as 1897, it has been assisted by the People's Institute, that remarkable organization which has made of Cooper Union an internationally famous social center for one of the most densely populated manufacturing districts in the world. In Wisconsin, the State Department of Education and the State University are co-operating in the popularization of the use of public schools and other public buildings for community purposes. A five months' course program of weekly meetings, upon local and public affairs, with entertainment features, has been prepared and is widely used throughout the state. It may be had by applying to either the State Education Department or the University Extension Department of the State University, at Madison. In 1911, the Wisconsin Legislature directed the school boards of the state to

open the schoolhouses for political discussions. Ohio, Oklahoma, and Indiana have similar laws. Kansas State Agricultural College has formed neighborhood improvement clubs throughout the state, for the dissemination of information about political and economic questions. These clubs are requested to make neighborhood surveys of health, economic, and other conditions, which will furnish valuable data for state tabulated statistics.

The report of the Russell Sage Foundation for 1913 says that 338 schools in 101 cities were used during the last school session as social centers. In 44 cities, the centers were directed by paid workers. New York has 48 and Chicago 16 such centers. These schools are open during the hot weather in congested tenement districts, providing space for play, and relief from overcrowded homes. The new buildings are furnished with gymnasiums, baths, and roof-gardens. During the year, they provide club-rooms for social and recreational purposes for the residents of the neighborhood, and various educational exhibits, lecturers, and entertainments are sent round regularly by the municipality.

On page 2785 will be found a model Constitution for a Neighborhood Civic Club, prepared by the Bureau of Civic and Social Center Development, The University Extension Division of The University of Wisconsin. We particularly recommend the adoption of this Constitution by such organizations.

food and extra clothing supplied to the open air schools have been contributed by philanthropic organizations or individuals, while equipment and teachers are furnished by the municipal school system. The argument most effective with the taxpayers in these humane developments is ever the financial one. Once he sees that millions of dollars are wasted yearly upon the schooling of children who die before they can render any return for the outlay, who are educationally a dead loss, the taxpayer realizes that it is not only kinder *but cheaper* to properly educate living children than dead ones.

Still further to meet the needs of retarded children, many of whom are handicapped by lacking knowledge of the English language, continuation and vacation schools are provided where they may make up back work or put themselves ahead a grade.

Continuation schools are provided, as in Germany, for children who go to work before they have completed the grammar school. Employers allow those of their child workers who are below legal educational requirements certain regular hours each week in which to attend school, until they have completed the work of the eighth grade. The recent child labor law in Ohio requires the employer to pay the child for this time just as though it were used for work, and the amount of school time is to be not less than four hours a week. This is an epoch-marking piece of social legislation, which is destined to be widely copied.

Schools as Recreation and Social Centers

Side by side with the dawning consciousness that the school must prepare children for their place in the work of the future, has come the conviction that it must also be the training place for wholesome human intercourse. Many homes are unable to furnish the environment necessary to such intercourse and which every child ought to have. The logical agency to furnish it must be the state's socializing agency, the public school, as one of the most socializing of activities.

Until recently, play has been left out of the school curriculum in this country. That city in Denmark is far wiser, whose schools are arranged for the children to study one-third of the time, work another third, and play the remaining third. The records of our Juvenile Courts demonstrate the necessity of children being taught to play as a vital part of education. Investigations recently conducted in several cities in order to find out how boys and girls spend their leisure time, show that half of those interviewed did nothing after school hours, while seventy per cent of them were on the street.

Several great organizations, differing widely in purpose, have combined to recognize the need of social and recreational opportunity for children. Among these are the police, charitable, and educational organizations all over the country, and the national federations of women. Five of these last, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Council of

Jewish Women, the National Congress of Mothers, the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, and the Southern Association of College Women, through their affiliated education departments in 1908 were admitted as the Department of National Organizations of Women into the National Education Association. The purpose of this department is to "bring the home and the school into more helpful relation."

The movement to make of the schools common meeting places for residents of the neighborhood, has received powerful local and state backing in several widely separated parts of the country. In New York City, where school buildings were opened to boys' and girls' clubs as early as 1897, it has been assisted by the People's Institute, that remarkable organization which has made of Cooper Union an internationally famous social center for one of the most densely populated manufacturing districts in the world. In Wisconsin, the State Department of Education and the State University are co-operating in the popularization of the use of public schools and other public buildings for community purposes. A five months' course program of weekly meetings, upon local and public affairs, with entertainment features, has been prepared and is widely used throughout the state. It may be had by applying to either the State Education Department or the University Extension Department of the State University, at Madison. In 1911, the Wisconsin Legislature directed the school boards of the state to

clude fathers as well as mothers. The state organizers of the National Congress of Mothers are especially active in promoting parents' associations, and information and aid in organizing and conducting societies is furnished by these organizations upon request. For further sources of information, the inquirer is referred to the bibliography appended to this article.

Politics and the Schools

Thus we see the dawning of that system of education which shall bring the school near to the people, making it the meeting place of youth, maturity and age in the natural environment. The drift of our industrial and socialistic era is toward the evolution of an industrial and socialistic school, not in any superficial class sense, but in a profound and universal sense.

And it is because the financial powers realize this change in public opinion that they are hastening to utilize it for their preservation before it threatens them with destruction. Such schools as those in Pittsburgh in the Westinghouse factories, and in Gary, the home of the steel corporation, are more significant than is any blind, stupid opposition on the part of manufacturers to child labor or compulsory school laws.

But the training of the industrial schools typified by the school at Gary must stand a searching test if it is to be accepted as that combination of industrial and cultural education which the American commonwealth of the future will demand. This test may be suggested

by a few pertinent inquiries designed for the teachers and pupils of the school. Ask the teachers, "Do you feel free to express yourself to your pupils upon the political and social conditions of your time and environment as well as in you lies?" Ask the pupils, "Who owns Gary, your native town? Who governs it? What part are you going to have in that government? Are you going to become just skilled workmen in its industrial institutions, or are you going to be free citizens in a modern community?"

These questions bring us face to face with the grand problem underlying all the other problems of our present day educational adjustment and evolution. How can we know that our experiments are working out rightly along fundamental lines, unless we look for proof in the community created and ruled by those forces with which our school system is trying to coöperate? But do we find such proof or any promise of it in our modern industrial community? Regarding the community as a grown up kindergarten, where will you find one which provides work for all, time for play for all, the sincere and cheerful coöperation of all? Where will you find a community in which industry has as honorable a place as has "Big Business" and the arts? Do we see even a glimmering of such a state of society coming in this country, and if so, where? And yet this is the ideal we are determined to realize in our schools, an ideal at war with the whole theory of the society which supports our

schools. It is a stupendous spectacle, this of a giant democracy determined to teach its children liberty, equality, and fraternity while allowing the fathers legally to violate every social commandment.

Nevertheless there is a teacher, the oldest and wisest of all the teachers of mankind, the struggle for existence, who can point to such a glimmering.* Already a real democracy is unmistakably foreshadowed within our public school system by means of several episodes which are far profounder in significance than those who acted in them can well realize. Eleven years ago, in 1902, the struggle for existence forced the teachers of Chicago to federate themselves with working men in order to secure just rights and opportunities for themselves and for the children of Chicago. At just the time when pedagogical alarmists were crying from the crumbling housetops of medievalism that the virility of the youth of America was threatened by the over-feminization of our common schools, this oldest and wisest teacher was leading thousands of women teachers into a situation where it became necessary for them to understand and sympathize with the most virile men of the nation. There is considerable irony in the fact that among all the epithets hurled at Margaret Haley and her associates, the epithet "over-

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Parents' Associations

An important feature of the social center movement is the Parents' Associations which are forming in connection with city and country schools. A pioneer along this line is the Parents' Association of the Elementary School of the School of Education in the University of Chicago. This organization was formed in 1903 for the promotion of the social life of the children in the school by means of financial backing, personal aid and supervision. Its activities included the formation of various clubs among the children of the original school and other schools of Chicago, and the organization of other parents' associations. In Philadelphia the Home and School League has headquarters at 1552 Cherry street. The Philadelphia associations are among the most active in the country. Perhaps Boston may boast of having the most highly organized parents' associations. The first were formed there in 1905. The annual report issued by the combined associations contains matter valuable to all similar societies.

Parents' associations may be traced to the Mothers' Clubs which grew out of the kindergarten movement. They usually begin in informal meetings of parents and teachers of a social character, for the discussion of some topic of mutual interest. Sometimes the grade teacher invites all the mothers of her pupils to entertainment or exhibit by the children. Out of such meetings, clubs naturally grow which eventually in-

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PREAMBLE

WHEREAS, We, the citizens of ....., residing in the neighborhood of ..... school, have duties which require for their intelligent performance an understanding of the public questions of our time, and a broad acquaintance with our fellow citizens.

AND WHEREAS, The public school building affords the convenient place for the bettering of this understanding and the development of this acquaintance through the open presentation and free discussion of public questions.

THEREFORE, We constitute ourselves a NEIGHBORHOOD CIVIC CLUB to hold meetings in the public school building, whose object shall be the development of intelligent public spirit through the open presentation and free discussion of public questions; and such other civic and social activities as give promise of common benefit.

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VI. Unfinished business.
VII. New business.
VIII. Special program.
IX. Discussion.
X. Adjournment.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW. PART I

1. Why should education be controlled by the state?

2. By what steps did the state assume control of our public school system?

3. What states led in the systematizing of public education?

4. What were Horace Mann's contributions?

5. Why do we have compulsory school laws and what forces work to evade or defeat them?

6. How did commercial business inflence our public schools?

7. How is industrial business changing educational methods?

8. What provision is made for defective and retarded children?

9. What causes have produced the social center movement? and where did it originate?

10. What are the problems confronting the rural school?

11. What problems must be solved by the city school?

12. At what age should school children take up specialized vocational training? At what age do they take it up?

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b. History of Public Provision for Recreation

In every civilization in which people have congregated in villages or cities there has been some form of recreation which the community as a whole has provided for itself. The Olympian games of Greece were both cause and effect of the highest type of civilization the earth has known. The elaboration with which the plans for recreation in Plato's Republic are worked out bear testimony to the Greek knowledge of the fact that the playfield is the school of citizenship. The phrase "bread and the circuses" explains the fall of the Roman Empire. When a people takes its food as a gift, and its pleasure in watching others work or suffer, there is something wrong at the core.

The modern playground movement originated in Germany. The Municipal government in Germany is not democratic. The wealthy classes think they know, — or can find out — what the people need, and they will supply it. They are conscientious about it, and painstaking. In the United States the plan is to educate the people until they want the thing they need, then they get it for themselves. After the laboratory study of play had shown its importance in race progress, a Ger-

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

1. How do school and home coöperate in my community? How might they?

2. What is the relation of the school to the industries in my community? What might it be?

3. The coöperation of manufacturers and school boards in Cincinnati, Fitchburg, Gary, and Providence.

4. Industrial education in New York and Chicago.

5. Industrial education in England and Germany.

6. Contrast the old apprenticeship system with modern vocational training.

7. The future of the American rural school as shown by present movements.

8. Are girls given an equal chance with boys in our public schools?

PART II

Public Recreation

By CHARLOTTE RUMBOLD

THE FUNCTION AND VALUE OF RECREATION

a. The Theory of Play

MUCH has been written on the function and value of play, both of animals and of man. The theory of Karl Groos that play is an instinct, the purpose of which is the education of the individual, is the most generally accepted. Only recently have the play instinct and the prolongation of infancy in the human animal been recognized as factors in the conservation of the race and the development of civilization. It has been estimated that four of the first five years of a child's life, three of the second five and two of the third five, years, that is nine years out of the first fifteen, are spent in play. Once this would have been thought a waste of time, now the strength of the impulse to play commands at least, respectful attention. A race whose instincts for thousands of generations were wrong, would eliminate itself.

Playing to a child is not the doing of easy things, it is not "fooling," but its exact opposite. Play is the child's work. Unless there is serious exertion of several

or all of his faculties the game is "slow." The classical illustration of the difference between work and play is Tom Sawyer and his white washed fence. Good play is good work plus satisfaction. The boy who has come under the discipline of his mates on a ball team and played a good game, has laid the foundation of doing good work.

Play for children and recreation for adults promote physical health. The child that has played the games suitable to his or her years and sex in their regular succession, learned to swim and skate and played on a team as these things were suitable, is rather likely to have an all round physical development, especially to have strong vital organs which is more important in our present day civilization than muscular strength. For the adult, recreation relieves nervous tension, it helps him throw off the strain of his regular occupation by complete absorption in the new pursuit. For both child and adult it should develop the habit of physical activity, the daily pleasurable exertion which makes for staying power. In our modern school-life as well as in our industrial life the field of choice is more and more limited. On a playground a boy chooses what he shall do, and if he does it well, it is not because he is compelled to, but because he wills to do it. To win a game requires quick judgment, a chance seen and instantly caught. Will power and judgment are the moral faculties which play brings out. The socializing influence of play is perhaps as significant as any of its

aspects. The boy or girl who plays in a team, and really knows what a "sacrifice hit" means, is already a valuable citizen. Fair play, the square deal, stand up for your own rights, but see too that the other boy gets his — there is no better school for citizenship.

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all their muscles, and more important, all their mental faculties. Their very lives depended on their resource, judgment, skill. To-day in the cities, we live increasingly under the factory system, not only in the factories themselves, but in the offices, almost in the schools. Just as there are factories where an unskilled worker, who takes low wages, can almost always get in for a few days, and department stores where casual labor comes and goes in the bargain basements, so there are offices where they are nearly always taking on or dropping some of the less skilled people. A girl in one of these offices may type the letters of some assistant manager, taking them from a dictaphone, for a week, without coming in contact with the man in person, and she may know the head of the firm only by sight. Surely this is the impersonal factory method of employment. The girl at the adding machine in the office gets hardly more pay than the girl at the mangle in the laundry, she uses fewer muscles, shows no more initiative, and is called on for hardly more intelligence. After such a day's work, a dance hall is a good place for a girl—if it is a good dance hall. It gives her an opportunity not only for the exercise of her muscles but also of her judgment and initiative. If in earning her living, her body is cramped and her mind dulled, then in her recreation she must find the means of saving her soul.

RECREATION IN THE UNITED STATES

a. Philanthropic Agencies

The settlements were the first agencies in the United States to realize that the lack of recreation was almost as pressing, and much more general, than the lack of work with the people they had settled among. The settlements do their best work perhaps, as interpreters of one economic class to another, and one of their difficult tasks is to persuade both classes that standards of manners change with standards of spending ability. The benevolent lady who "went down" to talk to a group of young business women, and told them that they ought never to go to a theatre or restaurant with a man without a chaperone, was sure the country was plunging to ruin when they told her that they considered the basic idea of the chaperonage system essentially indecent.

The girl who lives what is now becoming almost technically called "the sheltered life" sees her men friends at home. More than we realize, our expressions of friendship or acquaintanceship are determined by our means of showing hospitality, and this in turn by our house space. If you move from a ten room house to a seven room flat, it makes a great difference in the way you entertain your friends. If your family must be further compressed into two rooms, all question of entertainment is at an end. If the daughter of such a household wants to see one of her men friends, then, since the children are in bed and the father is tired,

she must go with him to the park, the five-cent theatre or the dance hall. Among the families of the better class or tradition there is a good deal of anxiety until the daughter has chosen her dance hall. The choice of the hall determines her acquaintance, and quite probably the man she will marry. And the boys of seventeen, the boys who need wholesome sport, need to play ball, swim, canoe, run races, hunt, fish, the boys who should be carrying on the tradition that every American man can manage a horse, a boat, and a gun — what do they do with their evenings and Sundays? Go down your local Bowery, Saturday night, and see.

The churches and missions followed the settlements in the endeavor to provide the recreation so badly needed. Some of them use their entertainments as "bait" to draw the people into the churches, but to the credit of most of them be it said, and without deprecation of the high value of the church work as an end in itself, the recreation is offered quite simply without any ulterior purpose of proselytization.

The first idea of the philanthropic agencies is, generally, to provide classes. This is probably because these agencies are both financed and operated by a class economically and socially different from the class for which they are operated. But the people who come are too tired at night to study, and as a rule the only successful classes are those that provide some sort of interesting hand work, or foot work, — dancing. Moving pictures and simple music are the popular and usual

entertainments. Generally these agencies reach mostly the children. Their work here has an enormous value, and can by no means be regarded slightly. They take the children in smaller groups than can the schools or any other public agency, and so give them much more individual consideration. The personal contact between the man or woman of cultivation and good feeling and the children in his or her small group is the riches of this kind of work.

When this sort of personal contact takes place—really—between grown people of two economic classes it has an educative influence in both directions. But this is rather rare. The clubs and classes of the philanthropic agencies reach some women and girls but, as a rule, only the exceptional men and boys. In every settlement or church house or mission there are small groups, men's clubs or smokers, boys' gymnastic clubs, debating societies, but they are made up of either the exceptionally docile or the exceptionally intelligent. The mass are unreached. A settlement worker of national reputation and large experience said that through all the streets and alleys there seemed to him to be a thin, hurrying stream of philanthropists, social workers, devoted men and women with earnest purpose, each with a pail of water which he or she was carefully carrying to pour on some particuluar spot in the desert of Sahara.

Hardly to be classed as philanthropy is the recreation provided under the name of "welfare work" of "big

business." Without doubt most of it is inaugurated by the factory owner with the simple desire to be as friendly and cordial as possible with the fellow-men and women working with him in his establishment. Such a man would repudiate the name philanthropist. To the head of a large manufacturing plant has been attributed the phrase "philanthropy pays," and to the cynicism of this statement may be laid a great deal of the deep resentment manifested against "welfare workers" and "social secretaries" in many manufacturing and mercantile plants. However, under the new name for the director "efficiency engineer" and with the new slogan "ninety per cent efficient" which the United States has learned from its own engineers and sanitarians of the Isthmian Canal Commission, the excursions, vacations with pay, outing farms, tennis courts, ball fields, swimming pools established by the large corporations for their employes, are coming slowly into favor. It seems a little different from being better groomed and fed so as to be a better draft animal.

b. Commercial Agencies

If one had one's living to make, out of the things he does for duty's sake or for kindness or fellow feeling, he'd do a good many more of such things and be a good deal cleverer about them. This difference between the professional and the amateur is evident not only in politics but, among many other directions, in provision for public recreation. The commercial

agencies realized in a very practical way the wide and widening need of popular recreation, — the depths of the need is none of their affair — and they realized, too, that from the pay-envelope people it is easier to collect twenty nickels than one dollar. The "ten, twenty, thirty cent" theatres, where the inestimable social prestige of a box seat can be purchased for half a dollar, with their continuous shows of "refined, high class, family vaudeville," the motion picture shows, skating rinks, dance halls, were on the ground and growing fast before the educationally and philanthropically interested realized that here was an enormous social force, with incalculable influence in every direction.

It was human nature, perhaps, that caused the bad features of this new social expression to be first evident to the people who were honestly interested in the public's good, not in its nickels. The low intellectual level of the amusements, the often low moral tone, the insanitary and unsafe buildings, loomed so large they concealed the great possibilities for good. The motion picture films, for example, have educational possibilities of which the schools, the housing reform, the anti-tuberculosis and other such societies are only beginning to take advantage. From the first indistinct and unreliable films shown in complete darkness with nerve shattering flickers of light, to the present smoothly moving pictures in at least semi-light, where the eye strain is at a minimum, is a long step which has been taken in a short space of years. It was the commercial

agencies which forced the improvements, and it is to be questioned whether, if the educational agencies had been the motor force, these improvements would not have been ten years slower in coming.

There is hardly any doubt that a good moving picture show in a residential neighborhood "cuts the saloon trade." There is evidence too, that it cuts into the sale of "fancy goods" and cheap jewelry in the small neighborhood "notion stores." These divagations of the family nickels will probably be regarded as one of the mitigations of the evils of the "movies." This, however, is a negative good. On the positive side, the picture show does real constructive social work, in that it is a genuine force for holding the family together. In the large cities, at least, industrial conditions, housing conditions, are all forces for driving the members of the family apart. Father, mother, and children meet for two meals a day and sleep under the same roof at night. Their occupations, companions, interests are widely divergent. The picture shows, however, grow prosperous on the fact that to this place father, mother and the children all come together. Father leaves the saloon, mother leaves the back yard gossip, the children leave the street, and all go together to see their favorite actors, whom they know by name, on the moving picture films. There have been times and places when the motion picture theatre was the real and only social center in the neighborhood. It is quite customary for "the ladies of the church" to buy out the seating

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and one or two women of the bad type can do a great deal of harm through the easy acquaintanceship of the cloak room. Even more insidious is the general feeling of letting things go which everyone has who is out for a good time away from home where no one knows who one is. In many of the halls, introductions are required, and the usual form—"Miss Smith meet Mr. Jones"—adds the exciting feeling of being in a masquerade and of being able to escape all responsibility for Miss Smith's actions tonight and makes the girl reckless and willing to "be a sport,"—of course just for tonight. The crux of the dance hall problem is the girl. The girl wants to dance. Dancing with the girl is an expression of a profound need of her sex. This is a psychological fact with a biological basis. The boys most of them come because the girls are there, not because they "would rather dance than eat," as the girls would—and do. The commercial agencies recognize this and turn it to their advantage in the method of charges. In the cheaper halls the girls dance free of charge, the men pay five cents a dance, sometimes six dances for twenty-five cents. This involves the custom of "splitting." When two girls are dancing together, and a man touches one of them on the arm, without any further formality she releases her girl partner and turns off with her new one. If she declines too often she is soon not welcome on the floor,—the proprietor gets the nickels from the men. To the girl a dance hall is a place to dance, to the boy a place to meet the

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capacity of the theatre for a night, decide on the films to be exhibited, provide the between-the-picture acts from "local talent" and devote the proceeds to the church organ or carpet fund.

"Amateur night" too, when the men from the iron foundry do the weight-lifting "stunts," and the lady cashier with stellar ambitions "obliges with an act by Shakespeare," and the neighborhood comedian sings to an air, and with a lilt too, that keeps the wretched thing in one's head for days—"the pop'lar chicken rag, 'Oh, how I love to listen to father eating soup.'" Even though it seems cruelly close to the Roman circus when *pollice verso* is translated into "get the hook," and the popular vote of the three, two and one dollar prizes for the best "acts" is apt to be based on personal considerations that have nothing to do with the merit of the performances—still it is "all in the family," and often is the most unifying influence in the neighborhood.

If the picture show audience is looked over carefully, it is evident that many of the sixteen to twenty year olds are missing. They have probably gone to the dance hall—the picture show is slow. There are all sorts of public dance halls, good, bad, and indifferent. There is only one generalization about them that is even partly safe, and that is the larger they are the more dangerous. With a large and always changing crowd of people, it is impossible for the manager with the best of intentions to keep objectionable people out,

and one or two women of the bad type can do a great deal of harm through the easy acquaintanceship of the cloak room. Even more insidious is the general feeling of letting things go which everyone has who is out for a good time away from home where no one knows who one is. In many of the halls, introductions are required, and the usual form—"Miss Smith meet Mr. Jones"—adds the exciting feeling of being in a masquerade and of being able to escape all responsibility for Miss Smith's actions tonight and makes the girl reckless and willing to "be a sport,"—of course just for tonight. The crux of the dance hall problem is the girl. The girl wants to dance. Dancing with the girl is an expression of a profound need of her sex. This is a psychological fact with a biological basis. The boys most of them come because the girls are there, not because they "would rather dance than eat," as the girls would—and do. The commercial agencies recognize this and turn it to their advantage in the method of charges. In the cheaper halls the girls dance free of charge, the men pay five cents a dance, sometimes six dances for twenty-five cents. This involves the custom of "splitting." When two girls are dancing together, and a man touches one of them on the arm, without any further formality she releases her girl partner and turns off with her new one. If she declines too often she is soon not welcome on the floor,—the proprietor gets the nickels from the men. To the girl a dance hall is a place to dance, to the boy a place to meet the

girls. All the other things, good and evil, bad sanitation, liquor sold in the hall, bad companionship are to them merely incidental. And to be fair it must be said that to many dance hall proprietors these evils are not at all to be desired.

In any, however cursory, consideration of recreation centers established by commercial agencies, it would be stultifying not to give an important place to the saloon. For five cents a man buys not only beer but an opportunity for the expression of sociability on an equal footing with his peers. The saloon serves many another useful purpose. It is the only postoffice address for many of the unskilled laborers who follow the chances of work from place to place. It is the employment agency for the odd job and casual labor people. It is the bank when some one needs an infrequent check cashed. It is the bureau of information as to the going and comings, sicknesses and deaths, business and politics of the neighborhood. The bartender is often the most able man, generally the best informed as to the real vital things, in the district. That with the beer and with these advantages, go the evils of drunkenness and all the misery and degradation that follow in their train, wastefulness, extravagance, poverty and evil political influences — why not be fair and admit that the decent saloonkeeper will claim that he does not desire them any more than does any other decent man?

After the new recreational agencies under the im-

strated their usefulness and practicability to the community, the usual next business of the playground inaugurators is to turn them over to the community as a whole, the village, town or city. This, too, is sound public polity. If an institution is of value to the community it should be paid for by the community out of the regular community fund, and not by specially collected taxes in the form of a subscription list. It should be operated, too, through the regularly elected or appointed forces which conduct all the community work, and not by a few self-appointed, even though self-sacrificing and entirely competent, persons.

The first difficulty in turning over the playgrounds to the municipality is to find the proper department for their administration. Some years ago this was a much debated subject, both sides arguing on theoretical premises. In practice, however, it is generally conceded that it is largely a matter for local decision, depending on local civic conditions. It is frequently the case that one city department, the school or the park, is more progressive and more free from political spoliation than the other, and this consideration outweighs nearly all others when it comes to fitting the new department into the municipal machinery.

The immediate political situation aside, the various departments have each their special advantages. With the Board of Education, it is possible to emphasize the educational element in play. In addition the schools have an organized staff of persons interested

in the work, and if not already trained, glad to take the training. The schools and school yards and grounds, too, are an essential to a complete city plan, and can be used to advantage from the beginning. The Park Board, on its part, has the large spaces of ground that are needed for the open-air playgrounds, athletic fields and varied outdoor activities, and the park spaces, in most cities, are capable of indefinite enlargement and special planning. These are advantages of first importance. The Board of Public Welfare, as empowered in some cities, has the advantage of covering a wide field,—almost too wide. Its activities are so diversified that a small, new department can easily be neglected. The Public Recreation Commission is theoretically the ideal body for the administration of an organized city scheme of recreation. As an advisory, consulting and coöperating body, a commission made up of representatives of the schools, parks, libraries, river or harbor, and police authorities is a practical thing; as an administrative body there are so many legal and technical obstacles, to say nothing of political difficulties, to be overcome, that it is in some cases of doubtful efficiency. The probably general outcome will be that in the large cities the Public Recreation Commission will become chiefly the advisory and coöperative body, and to this function add the inauguration of new work in the several departments, which, once on a sound basis, will be turned over to the special, appropriate department for administration. In other words, as a

municipal organization, undertake for the municipality the experimental task heretofore done by volunteer and private associations. One fact of significance to the student of Municipal economy may be noted here. Though public recreation is almost the latest of the public functions to be considered part of the general public obligations the municipalization of public recreational facilities is going on at a much more rapid rate than the municipalization of any other public utility.

B. Departments

1. Playgrounds.—Plan: By whatever agency inaugurated, or whatever municipal department administered, the recreational institutions—plants—should conform to a plan. Not only a plan for each individual institution but to a city plan. Our cities were not planned, they just grew, but nearly every one is making some sort of an effort to reshape its most unattractive features into something more nearly conforming to its present needs and tastes. The placing of the playgrounds in this plan depends on the recreation philosophy—whether held consciously or unconsciously—of the plan engineers, or the recreation experts. The magnificent South Park system in Chicago, the most costly, most elaborately equipped system in the United States, probably in the world, is the result of a recreational and civic philosophy widely different than that enacted into the boulevard system in Kansas City or

the civic centers in Saint Louis. Those of the parks in the Chicago South Park system which were not gifts to the city are plots, on an average ten acres in size, in the districts which it is expected will be the congested districts when the city grows to them. It would be impossible, of course, to take ten acres out of the heart of a congested residence or business district in a modern city. The boulevard system in Kansas City carries the playgrounds with it. A boulevard in its plan, road surfacing and cost, both of construction and maintenance, precludes any type of building on its borders but the residence. The side streets would, in all probability, be occupied by less expensive dwellings and small neighborhood shops. Just such a district needs a playground, and in Kansas City the playgrounds are an integral part of the famous boulevard scheme. Saint Louis is more than a century and a half old, and the time for assigning certain districts for residence purposes and other for factories by means of a boulevard plan is long since past. A density-of-population map guided Saint Louis in its city plan. Where the population was most dense, there, in the very heart of it, Saint Louis pulled down a city block of tenements and built a playground. It is one block, at the most two and a-half acres, in size, but it is in exactly the spot where it is most needed. As the public schools are placed where the population is most numerous, and so too are the fire and police stations, and branch library stations, and branch dis-

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pensaries, there gathers naturally about the park playground as a center, a group of institutions which form what is known as a civic center. The very physical features of this plan, too, make all sorts of cooperation possible,— sometimes imperative. But whatever the philosophy behind the plan, the plan once adopted and an expression of the city's needs, the playgrounds should fit into it.

Equipment: The plan and the equipment of the playground itself depend on the local needs. To try to draw a type plan and rubber stamp it on any vacant lot is to defeat the very essence of the playground idea, —a place for the expression of the individuality of the neighborhood. The field house in Chicago, for example, which houses assembly rooms, club rooms, baths, gymnasiums, library, restaurant, in Saint Louis is merely an open shelter from sun and rain, with plenty of storage room, because the public school across the street has the assembly rooms and gymnasiums, the branch library across the street has the reading rooms and club rooms, the public bath has the showers and swimming pool. It would be the depths of civic extravagance to build all those things twice. Some or all are needed for the recreational work of any neighborhood, and must be supplied, but which institution supplies them depends on the general city plan. In one new shelter building erecting in Saint Louis the storage space is to be filled with simple, strong tables and seats. The people of the neighborhood were accustomed to out-of-

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toilets as with the showers, the playgrounds must supply them, if other public agencies in the immediate neighborhood do not.

Grass and trees are the aspiration of every playground architect, but their cost is often almost prohibitive. In a smoky, sooty atmosphere the trees choke to death, and the grass borders must be sodded and resodded.

The playground surfacing that is satisfactory for all climates and seasons is not yet found. All sorts of experiments are in progress. The essentials seem to be a porous base, cinders, or screenings, and a top dressing of some sort. As satisfactory as any is clay well rolled into the base with a thin layer of sand rolled into that. A sprinkling of oil is sometimes added, but so far this is rather expensive.

There should be a play field on each ground as large as the ground can afford, to be used for ball, folk dancing, skating in winter, and all sorts of games. A running track around the field is a great addition.

The gymnastic apparatus should be strong and simple. Steel and concrete are cheapest in the end. Safety at any cost of money is cheap. There are places where ropes are preferable to steel chains because of the greater ease in holding on, but in most places, steel chain of a flexible type is not only more durable but safer. The apparatus must be safe. The director of the ground should be held personally responsible for allowing any piece to be in use that is in the least degree

in need of repair. There must be no complicated mechanism, which being a little out of order throws the whole apparatus out of service. Where there are several grounds a skilled mechanic should be kept moving from ground to ground, examining, testing, and replacing. A serious accident due to faulty apparatus would be hard to forget.

It depends on the number of children and the number of attendants whether it is necessary rigidly to separate the boys and girls. It is wiser to assign them opposite sides of the grounds at any rate, and give them separate swings and such things. For the little folks, sand piles to play in, and hammocks in a safe place to sleep in, are about all that they want to make them happy and contented.

The Staff: The staff on the playground makes as much difference in the result of the ground as does the staff of the school in the efficiency of that institution, and it should be selected by similar standards and the hours of work and salaries should be entirely comparable. The playgrounds must be open, of course, on Saturday, and in most cases on Sunday. As often as not they must be open at night. This means that a substitute must be employed regularly for certain days and hours. No man can carry a full playground program for more than eight hours a day, six days a week, and it is doubtful if a woman can do it season after season through hot weather and cold, with a day of more than four hours, for being director on a play-

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door eating in their home countries, and during the long hot weather in Saint Louis have carried on the custom, but in the alleys. It is now proposed to give them an opportunity to bring their food to the park playgrounds where the tables will be placed on the ball field after six o'clock. This is entirely a local condition, so far, and must be met by the local institution. The first shelter on a new playground may well be a canvas awning, and the first storage place a locked piano box covered with tar paper. Tables and benches are best when they are simplest. It does no harm in a new situation to be quite sure what you need before you build.

Perhaps more important than any other feature of the equipment is the water. Drinking water must be supplied, and a modern, sanitary bubble fountain is the best means. A wading pool is to the children an unalloyed delight. But it must be so constructed that it can be emptied and cleaned often, or the health department will abate it as a nuisance. Shower baths add not only to the pleasure of the children, but are a distinct assistance to the general health of the neighborhood. If no other agency supplies them simply and without special red tape to the children, the playground should. In construction they can vary from the most elaborate marble and nickel equipment to a plain, wooden shed with tin showers and an iron supply pipe run along the ground. With either construction the ventilation feature should not be overlooked. With the

can break the records of college girls. Just before she becomes a woman, a girl is a better animal — except in one particular — than she will ever be again.

With this physical development there is a coördinate mental development. Ten years is the "stunt" age when the idea of not only doing a thing but doing it well begins to evidence itself. Later, at about twelve years, comes the idea of coöperation,—"the gang"— with all its good and evil in its train. Girls are less given to the gang, and less amenable to the team idea than boys. Girls do not regiment easily. And they are harder to teach the real meaning of the "sacrifice hit."

Ball games in all their forms are, on the whole, the most popular. Baseball, indoor baseball, captain ball, football, soccer ball, basketball,— which is not very successful on the grounds, the scoring being too complicated,— tennis, hand tennis, tether tennis, almost any ball game will be acceptable. A ground equipped with plenty of balls of various sizes and materials could in an emergency be opened without much other material.

Specialized Activities: Even the most popular of games begins to pall sometimes, and as there must be "something doing," there must be other sorts of activities to turn to. Simple industrial work is probably the best. During the hottest hours of the day, especially, even the children are willing to sit down and weave raffia or read or carve up cigar boxes or sew, or make scrap books, or one of a hundred other kinds of work,

which the director can think up. A variety of simple materials should be on hand. A box of tools, good workmanlike tools, is a never ending source of pleasure as well as of usefulness. The children should be encouraged to bring materials from home,—pictures, bits of cloth, cardboard, wall paper and such things not only lend variety to the industrial work, but teach the children the utilization of what seemed waste materials. Tin cans and tin boxes can be converted into numbers of interesting things. Spools cut in halves and painted will make checkers. The checkers boards can be painted on the tables. The balls always need mending, and a bit of wax thread from the shoemaker's shop on the corner is the best thing to mend them with. Whatever a child undertakes to make or do he must carry to completion, and must do as well as possible. Continuity of effort and respect for workmanship,—two things the American laborer seems to be losing—these could not be better taught in a set course of formal study than in the hot hours of a summer's day under a playground shelter.

If it is possible to give each child a garden, it certainly should be done. A garden of his own is a wonder and a delight, a lesson in ethics and in political economy all in one. The child should hoe and rake his own garden,—even if he cannot spade it,—plant it, weed it, water it, tend it, and reap it. Five feet by seventeen feet is a good size plot. A boy or girl can reach two and a-half feet to the center of such a plot

ground has no relation whatever to sitting under a tree and watching the dear children play.

The staff should be appointed, promoted and discharged in accordance with civil service ideals, even if not by civil service examination. Examination or not, fully fifty per cent. of the rating should depend on personality. Initiative, resource, judgment, firmness, sympathy, a sense of fun, and common sense, these can hardly be discovered by any set of examination papers, but they are the first essentials of a playground director. Added to these there are certain educational qualifications that are essential and certain ones extremely desirable. Two years of formal training beyond the high school is not too much to ask as a foundation, and training in a school of physical culture, in a normal school, or in a kindergarten training school are great helps.

In assembling a staff for a particular playground, it is of a good deal of importance that the members should be congenial. A playground can entirely lose its spirit, become disorganized and break into cliques, because of lack of sympathy between two directors, each of whom may be an excellent director and an estimable person — apart from the other. Again it would be a mistake to place a man or woman with violent race or national prejudice in a playground where numbers of the children were of the antipathetic origin.

It is absolutely essential that a director should be able to inspire confidence in his judgment and desire

for fair play. If he is not a "straight sport," if the children cannot be assured of a "square deal" in his decisions, the whole atmosphere of the grounds, the whole spirit of it is gone. The lack of this confidence in their leader may be seriously detrimental to the whole future of the children. An unfair decision on the ball field may be their first disillusion as to even-handed justice. The possession of this confidence in this, the first public officer they know intimately, may have a far-reaching effect on the future electorate.

Games: The first essential thing for a playground game is that it should be popular. Lists of games have been compiled for various ages and for various purposes; to train sight, develop accuracy of motion, quick judgment. All these are good educational reasons for games, but the games are of no use at all unless the children want to play them. It is necessary to have a variety of games in reserve, but as a matter of common observation children are interested in one or two at a time.

There are standards of physical development for both boys and girls, and these the playground director must know. A boy of ten must not be allowed to try the "stunts" allowable for a boy of seventeen, and there are times when girls must be watched with special care. At about twelve years of age a girl, weight for weight, is stronger in the arms and shoulders than a boy, and she can frequently outrun him. It is said on high authority that a first year high school class of girls

can break the records of college girls. Just before she becomes a woman, a girl is a better animal — except in one particular — than she will ever be again.

With this physical development there is a coördinate mental development. Ten years is the "stunt" age when the idea of not only doing a thing but doing it well begins to evidence itself. Later, at about twelve years, comes the idea of coöperation,—"the gang"— with all its good and evil in its train. Girls are less given to the gang, and less amenable to the team idea than boys. Girls do not regiment easily. And they are harder to teach the real meaning of the "sacrifice hit."

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ically, the folk dancing is a simpler expression of physical exuberance, and much better adapted to childish understanding. The interpretive dancing is apt to be merely funny unless it is done with consummate art; the folk dancing is acceptable if it is done with enthusiasm and abandon and conforms to the simple rhythm, —all of which are within the child's compass. It is hoped that the growing popularity of dancing may reintroduce a long-lost method of artistic expression.

Playground Organization: Self-government is the ideal of the playground as it is of the school. It might be possible in an exceptional case to establish it at the very beginning, but as a rule it must be a matter of late development. There are all sorts of teams on the grounds, of course, and these are largely self-disciplined. The discipline is apt to be merciless, too. No director would conceive of talking to a boy as does the captain of the team to the fielder who has "muffed it." The menace of the team, especially if it is a winning one, or of the Boy Scouts or Camp Fire Girls, is the same as of the teams or the fraternities or sororities of a school. They will try to run the grounds. A grounds committee with delegated authority is one thing, and the "managers of the team" quite another, when the good of the grounds as a whole is to be considered.

Social Service of the Playground: There should be a study of the neighborhood of a playground, especially if there are racial differences among the people. Often

there are different religious observances to which the children must conform, and the director should observe special care that they are not tempted to forget them. There are different economic standards. In one neighborhood a mother will refuse to spend twelve cents for a pair of bloomers for her daughter, even though she knows that it is cheaper than wholesale price, and even though she gives the girl ten cents to go to the picture show. In another the mother will insist that the girl buy the bloomers and take the money out of her own savings bank.

The coöperation of the parents is as helpful on the playground as it is in the school,—and almost as difficult to secure. Coöperation with the neighboring charitable or social organizations is the next best thing, and is easier. No one can know quite everything about his own work, especially when it is so diversified as that on the playgrounds, and friendly helpful criticism is of real value.

Coöperation with other municipal departments is essential. Schools, libraries, police department, juvenile court, attendance office, health department,—the playground touches them all. The juvenile court commits the neighborhood gang caught at craps or petty thieving to the playground, to be turned into a team. The health department sends its daily bulletins of contagious diseases, and expects the playground to keep the infected children of those exposed to infection from playing with the healthy ones. The attendance officer

comes straight to the playground for the school truants. The playground is the heart of the civic center.

2. Athletic Fields, Gymnasiums, Pools, Etc.—Departments other than playgrounds which fall to the Municipal Department concerned with recreational activities, are of all sorts,—athletic fields, gymnasiums, baths, swimming pools, beaches, golf links, tennis courts, dance halls. The same fundamental principles govern them as govern the playgrounds. They should conform to a plan, their equipment should be adapted to their immediate necessities, and character should be the first qualification of members of the operating staff. It is entirely possible to find "social workers" of a very high type in the force of janitors and matrons. The woman who, left a widow with small children, has earned a living for them herself, raised them to clean, honest, self-respecting, self-supporting men and women, has a patience, perseverance, energy, tact, and a knowledge of men and her environment for which a university Ph. D. is no substitute.

C. Cost

There is a wide variation between the different cities and communities in the cost of public recreation. Not only playgrounds, but bath houses, field houses, golf links seem hardly comparable in their maintenance expenses, so wide are the extremes of expenditure and so various are the items included. It is hardly safe to generalize, but perhaps it can be said that the excessive

without trampling the garden. A foot-and-a-half walk all the way around it will separate it sufficiently from the other plots. Each gardener should keep the walk on two sides of his plot, say the north and east, in good condition. This is his civic duty. When the gardens are started in the spring, radishes should be planted for their psychological effect. In a week, if you dig them up to see if they are growing, there is something on the end, and in two weeks they can be eaten on the spot. Once a boy has harvested, he is willing to weed.

The hour just before closing is the best story hour. Every one is a little tired and glad to sit still. The children are drawn into a group, and are more easily dismissed, and start for home more quietly than if they all fled whooping from the swings. Good books, suitable and entertaining, should be a part of every playground equipment, and no opportunity to foster the habit of discriminating reading should be neglected.

Dancing is for girls what baseball is for boys, and the physicial results to the individual are somewhat the same — quickness and accuracy of muscular movement, quickened circulation, with all its beneficent results, and endurance. The girl who dances through a Highland Fling, or a Hungarian Czardas, has had a good deal of exercise. To this exercise dancing adds grace and a sense of rhythm. The simple folk dances are the best for the playgrounds, on several scores. The so-called interpretive dancing is too complex psycholog-

ically, the folk dancing is a simpler expression of physical exuberance, and much better adapted to childish understanding. The interpretive dancing is apt to be merely funny unless it is done with consummate art; the folk dancing is acceptable if it is done with enthusiasm and abandon and conforms to the simple rhythm, —all of which are within the child's compass. It is hoped that the growing popularity of dancing may reintroduce a long-lost method of artistic expression.

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school buildings," and the possibility of moving both play and study from outdoors to indoors and back again as weather and lesson dictate, is a subject that must be considered and experimented with by the administrative forces of both schools and parks. The public libraries and public schools in many places have established close coöperation, there being branch libraries in many of the school buildings, with a library assistant in charge during certain hours. In Saint Louis the libraries and playground have not only established this kind of coöperation, but the assistants of the children's department, who are trained story-tellers, are assigned to the public playgrounds for certain hours on certain days. The children are not in the libraries in warm weather, they are in the park playgrounds, and the library assistants follow them. The river or harbor department often finds itself embarrassed with recreation work concerned with mothers and babies, thrust upon an organization built up, primarily, for totally different purposes, and it is generally more than willing to have this new work more effectively as well as more cheaply administered by coöperation with the Board of Education and Park Playgrounds.

The whole situation in regard to street play can be handled only by such coöperation between municipal departments. Our present municipal machinery recognizes the streets only as means of passing from one place to another, and to make this passing more expeditious we have organized a traffic police. As a matter

of common observation, the streets in the dwelling parts of the city are not only the playgrounds for two-thirds of the city's children but the club rooms for two-thirds of the city's adult population, and with the introduction into the United States of the European custom of street speaking the streets have become assembly rooms. The regular police force is in the same situation as the regular river or harbor department in this respect. It is organized for an entirely different purpose. The police themselves are chosen by standards of height and weight, physical courage, and ability to shoot. Nothing could be further removed from the standards of choice regulating the appointment of playground or social directors. Why not take account of these facts in our social arrangements? In most of our communities the moral censor of a neighborhood is the policeman on the beat. Picture shows, dance halls that pass what in his judgment — often very fair average judgment — are the limits of public decency, he puts down. No other official is concerned. Would not some sort of coöperation with the educative and recreational forces of the city provide an official board of regulation to whose judgment all classes of citizens would be willing to leave such questions?

b. New Types of Recreation

There is need of new types of public recreation, and the response to the need is coming from several directions. The laboratory study of play and play needs

is producing games, some of which are eminently successful. It is said that basket ball was evolved in cold blood. The need of a ball game between the football and baseball seasons, the consequent climatic necessity of playing indoors,—this involving the type of ball, soft, without much bounce, and the absence of bat. All these were as deliberately put together as though they were component parts of a chemical formula. It is to be hoped there will be much more of this sort of study, and that it will be as successful; but the immediate results are coming from following and modifying, where necessary, the popular lead.

The commercial agencies, as has been said, are generally first on the field in new types of recreation, and their empirical ventures are often found to have as sound a scientific basis as though they had originated in a laboratory. One thing, for example, the commercial agencies have taught the educators is that people like to spend money for their recreation. The philanthropists began with free baths, free swimming suits, free dancing pavilions. The educators add a small charge for special privileges "because people don't appreciate what they don't pay for." The commercial agencies know that it isn't a case of appreciation but a sheer desire to spend money that makes the choice of free milk or lemonade on the free river excursion pale into the background before the momentous question as to whether the tightly clutched penny shall be spent for pink soda pop or white soda pop. The boy who takes

a girl out on Sunday afternoon wants to buy something for her, if it is only ice cream soda, and if he cannot buy it "certified" in the city parks he will buy it "any old way" in the amusement parks; and the sooner the municipal park authorities recognize that fact, the better for the boy and girl. At seventeen one is interested neither in a savings account nor in hygiene. We can learn from the commercial agencies, too, when the occasion comes to furnish a substitute for the saloon, that the five cents across the bar has many implications that the substitute cannot afford to ignore. The Sunday excursions which the railways and steamboats furnish can be made the foundation of such clubs as the "Pioneers" of Chicago, where popular walking trips are planned months in advance; the direction and cost in money, time, and miles of the day's outing are all known before the day set for the excursion.

A form of recreation that is rapidly growing in popularity is the pageant. There is a meaning in the revival of interest in acting. The dramatic societies that are springing up over all the country, in all sorts of social environments, are interested not so much in seeing plays as in acting them. Acting is the latest of the arts to have felt the reviving touch of the amateur. It means that the people want for themselves a new means of expression. The pageant offers this means to the whole community. It is the reaction from too routine a life. The success of certain parts of the pageant may require the services of professional or

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trial schools and sanitariums must be built, administered, and supervised. This is a problem that involves nearly every man, woman, and child in the city. After every shipwreck the life-boats are found to be of insufficient capacity to save the passengers and crew; the statement is made that it would need a second ship to do it, and that ships ought to travel in pairs. It does not seem possible to build and administer another city in which the people shall find their pleasure, reserving the present one for drudgery. A certain settlement was anxiously looking for a recreation leader for a group of twenty men, able-bodied, entirely sane workmen. The implication is appalling. Not only another city in which to enjoy ourselves, but one of every twenty of the population told off to show us how! We must set our national genius at the problem and organize the consumption of our leisure time and democratize its administration.

In Saint Louis there have been two experiments under the Public Recreation Commission, in this democratization of administration, one partly successful, one so far entirely so. The first was an attempt to give the young men in the factories a legal right to play ball — at least pitch — in the streets in front of the factories at the noon hour. They do it anyway; but they do it against the street and police regulations, and with consequent physical dangers to the passers-by and to themselves, to say nothing of the contempt for city regulations which it inculcates. The experiment was

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sions, all live by, for, and of clubs. They are not only the national sport, but they are the national and only school of democracy. The newly arrived immigrant who joins "The Blue Bell Insurance and Social" soon gets an understanding of what the rule of the majority means, and why. Democracy is not taught in our public schools; they and the factories, shops, offices are oligarchies. So we all of us pay our dues — our tuition fees — to our clubs and committees and educate ourselves. And not only are we dependent on our clubs and committees for our education in democracy, but for our practice in it. A man goes to the City Hall, or the county seat, and swears to his tax returns once a year; he votes perhaps twice in three years; two or three times in a lifetime he serves on a jury. And that is self-government. About the only part a woman takes in city, state, or national government is when she telephones the City Hall to complain about the garbage collection.

The democratization of the administration of the facilities for recreation will be not only an expression of our national genius for organization but give the opportunity for that practice in the handling of the machinery of democracy on the facility in which our democratic institutions depend. The social centers established in school houses, churches, settlements, park field houses, are our most present help in this, and their recreational activities the immediate instrument. Such centers when democratically administered are practi-

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made of making one of their number, a young man recommended by the manager of the factory as being responsible and having some authority in leadership among his fellow workmen, an unpaid but authorized assistant director under the Public Recreation Commission. His duty was the supervision of that ball game. His position and authority were known and supported by the police and street departments, the side street being closed to traffic for half an hour. This legitimatized the whole thing. Perhaps the best result of all was the entirely changed attitude toward the city administration and the city regulations, of every one of the young fellows who pitched a ball in that street. Like all such experiments, however, this failed in some situations and with some personalities, and succeeded with others.

The Municipal Soccer Foot-Ball League is, however, at the close of its first season, no longer an experiment. The General Director of Athletics of the Public Recreation Commission is the manager of the League. The meetings of the captains and managers of the teams are held in the City Hall, and the constitution and by-laws which they drew up, submitted to and approved by the Chairman of the Public Recreation Commission. The teams are composed largely of the young men employed in some manufacturing or wholesale establishment. Sometimes it is a neighborhood association, sometimes they are alumni of some school. The team from the business association, however, is most fre-

quent and holds together longest, perhaps because, as a rule, the management of the firm encourages it, sometimes furnishing suits, sometimes allowing time for practice. The teams often play under the firm name, and if they win the whole establishment is proud of them. At the beginning of the season the umpires were put on the Public Recreation Commission pay roll, later enough competent volunteers were found to serve, still later, the teams assessed themselves and paid the umpires. The whole standard of the game has been raised. The rules are rigidly enforced and cheerfully submitted to. Again, besides the wholesome exercise for the young men and the added pleasure of thousands of spectators in the parks, perhaps as significant as anything is the new attitude of the young men, and especially their leaders, toward the city itself.

If our national genius is for organization, then our national game is — not baseball — but going on committees. It has been said that if three Americans have an idea in common, the best known immediately becomes president, the richest treasurer, and the most able the secretary. There is hardly a family without a member on some committee or in some club, lodge, union, or circle. There are a dozen clubs in every playground, and two dozen in every school. The churches are hotbeds of them, and so are the settlements. The saloons, the rooms behind the saloons, the dance halls, pool rooms, "lid clubs," steamboat excur-

sions, all live by, for, and of clubs. They are not only the national sport, but they are the national and only school of democracy. The newly arrived immigrant who joins "The Blue Bell Insurance and Social" soon gets an understanding of what the rule of the majority means, and why. Democracy is not taught in our public schools; they and the factories, shops, offices are oligarchies. So we all of us pay our dues — our tuition fees — to our clubs and committees and educate ourselves. And not only are we dependent on our clubs and committees for our education in democracy, but for our practice in it. A man goes to the City Hall, or the county seat, and swears to his tax returns once a year; he votes perhaps twice in three years; two or three times in a lifetime he serves on a jury. And that is self-government. About the only part a woman takes in city, state, or national government is when she telephones the City Hall to complain about the garbage collection.

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cally little New England town meetings. They are the neighborhood made articulate. They express the needs and wishes of the community, and see to the enforcement of these needs in a very effective way. Just here is justification of the hope that, for example, the neighborhood dance hall will be safer than the commercial dance hall, whatever standard of surface propriety in the latter may be insisted upon. The mothers of a neighborhood will know whether the men in the neighborhood dance hall are loafers or young workingmen, and no one is quite reckless under the eyes of the people he or she knows.

We have made laws for a long time, and have neglected the songs. We have made business laws, political laws, and as a result we have "big business" ethics and political ethics. Do we like them? Our songs, the ones we whistle, sound as though they had been made in the saloons and alleys. "Society is not safe until to-day's pleasures are stronger than its temptations." An opportunity for the exertion of one's physical, mental, moral forces in something requiring one's every capacity,—that is the joy of living. That is the artist's joy, the scientist's joy. Happy the man who finds this joy in the earning of his daily bread. To give boys and girls, men and women opportunity to use their leisure time in the expression of their individualities, in the training of themselves to deliberate judgment and responsibilities, is one of the fundamental needs of an industrial democracy such as ours.

PART III

Eugenics

By ANNA E. BLOUNT, M.D.

THE proper study of mankind is man, said Pope. But the world has only tardily seen the significance of these words. We study man the physiological mechanism; man the thinker, wandering in the realms of philosophy and metaphysics; we study sociology, or man in his gregarious aspect; man in all his races and varieties; man in his evolution; man the victim of disease, and even man in his embryonic development; but why we are what we are, and how we may become what we should wish to be, the means of race culture, or, in other words, Eugenics, has been but for a few years considered a science worthy of a name. Francis Galton, who coined that name, died in 1911, at the advanced age of eighty-nine years.

For many years we have produced white blackberries, and seedless tomatoes, and thornless gooseberries; and the laws of plant and animal breeding have become fairly clear. Yet while we have been developing improved strains of pigs and pumpkins, we have carefully preserved and promoted the breeding of the insane, the feeble-minded, the pauper, and every

form of human derelict. Thus have we not only failed to prevent what we should have prevented, but a still more regrettable fact is that we have failed to promote what we should have promoted.

What Miltons, and Darwins, and Mme. Curies the world has looked for in vain these many centuries; and the call has been answered only by chance. The power of reason, by which we have transformed the face of nature, we have hitherto shrunk from applying to the genesis of our own race.

In the words of Whetham, "Hitherto the development of our race has been unconscious, and we have been allowed no responsibility for its right course. Now in the fulness of time, we are treated as children no more, and the conscious fashioning of the human race is given into our hands. Let us put away childish things, stand up with open eyes, and face our responsibilities."

Civilization has always proven self-destructive. We are even now in an era wherein the lower elements are submerging the better elements. This is admirably proven for London by the statistics of Heron. He found that the birth-rate was declining in the different districts, as the affluence (measured by the number who kept more than one servant) increased. Also he found that the birth-rate declined as the number of professional men in these districts increased. And this had all come about since fifty years ago, for at that period

the well-to-do and professional classes were holding their own in the population.

"Taking the various districts of London, where people are massed together, to some extent, according to poverty and wealth, it is found that the corrected birth-rate of Bethnal Green — the district of London where fewest servants are kept — fell off by twelve per cent between 1881 and 1901, while that of Hampstead — where many domestic servants are kept — was reduced by three times that amount."

About fifteen thousand births take place annually in the workhouses of England and Wales, two-thirds of these being illegitimate. In one workhouse it was found that out of a total of 229 births in five years, in more than three-fourths of the cases the mothers were mentally weak, in most cases approaching imbecility. With the best of modern medical care many of these children will die. Of the survivors, a large part will be feeble-minded, and many of the remainder will be paupers, not having will or capacity for steady work.

But if the character of the population is degenerating in our centers of population, it remains always possible to reverse this process.

It wants but a study of the facts, an awakened public conscience, an arousing of latent race-patriotism, and of religious zeal for a better humanity, and the voluntary prudential restrictions, which now affect chiefly

our better classes, can with the same machinery be made to affect the worse half of the population.

Karl Pearson has proved that one-quarter of the parents produce one-half of the children. It is vastly important which quarter of the parents produces that half.

But I must not anticipate. So let me begin and tell you what Eugenics is, after which I will discuss its ancient beginnings, its scientific basis, the proof of our need of the study, its positive and its negative possibilities, and the beginnings of activities in this line.

What Is Meant by Eugenics

The word Eugenics signifies "good stock." Eugenics as applied to man would therefore signify the study of race-culture, or the improvement of the human breed.

There were eugenists in the olden time. Plato had meditated on the principles of heredity. He says to Glaucon:

"How can marriages be made most beneficial? That is a question which I put to you, because I see in your house dogs for hunting, and of the nobler sort of birds not a few. Now I beseech you, do tell me, have you ever attended to their pairing and breeding?"

"In what particulars?"

"Why, in the first place, although they are all of good sort, are not some better than others?"

"True!"

"And do you breed from all indifferently, or do you take care to breed from the best only?"

"From the best."

"And do you take the oldest or the youngest, or only those of ripe age?"

"I choose only those of ripe age."

"And if care were not taken in the breeding, your dogs and birds would greatly deteriorate?"

"Certainly."

"And the same of horses and animals in general?"

"Undoubtedly."

"Good heavens, my dear friend, what consummate skill will our rulers need if the same principle holds of the human species?"

And so Plato unfolded a scheme by which the guardians of the city were to select those deemed worthy of parentage, and mate them for the good of the city. When the plan is developed with its community of wives and children, and wholesale abortion, one thinks that Plato had good need to say, as he did:

"And I pray Nemesis not to visit upon me the words I am about to utter," and modestly to avow: "To carry on an argument when you are yourself only a hesitating enquirer, is a dangerous and a slippery thing."

Aristotle also wished to have the number of children to a family strictly limited, and deformed children were to be allowed to die. Abortion was to be procured, if children were too numerous, "a practice which," said Aristotle, "is not criminal, if life has not

yet begun in the embryo." Of course, no one knew, in Aristotle's time, the now well-known fact that life is in the embryo from the beginning. Aristotle prescribed the age of marriage for men as thirty-seven, and for women as eighteen, "since the limitation of generation in men is seventy and in women is fifty."

The Malthusian Law

At the close of the eighteenth century was published Malthus' "Essay on the Theory of Population," a work which at once made its importance felt in the storm of hostile criticism which it aroused.

Malthus saw how reproduction tends to outrun the means of subsistence, the former increasing at a geometrical ratio, and the latter at an arithmetical ratio. There would not be standing room on the surface of the earth for all were it not for the checks to population.

These checks are classified as preventive and positive. The preventive checks are moral self-restraint and vice. The positive checks are war, pestilence, and famine, and a host of accidents and minor ills. As remedies for overpopulation, Malthus recommended moral self-restraint and emigration. But as Sir Francis Galton subsequently pointed out, moral self-restraint, while it would conceivably keep down the numbers of the population, would produce a steady decline in its quality. For if the wise and thoughtful only, as might be presumed, would exercise this restraint, then the propor-

tion of unrestrained and vicious in the community would become greater and greater.

Darwin and Galton

Sixty years after the publication of Malthus' great book, Darwin gave the modern basis for and impetus to the study of race-control by the publication of his "Origin of the Species," with its elaborate discussion of the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest, backed by a wealth of evidence. Darwin by his lifetime of painstaking labor planted the rock upon which the science of Eugenics (as well as much more) is built. Without the understanding of organic evolution, and an appreciation of those changes, sudden or gradual, by which modifications in structure, amounting to new varieties or to new species, are produced, we can hardly hope to understand the production and summation of those subtle modifications of hereditary mental or moral quality that constitute family traits, or those more pronounced modifications that constitute race varieties. It remained for Francis Galton, a first cousin of Charles Darwin, to build upon this firm foundation the beginning structure of the science of Eugenics.

Galton was a remarkable illustration of the principle for which he contended, the inheritance of genius. He was, excepting Darwin, the most remarkable representative of a remarkable scientific family, containing no less than nine members of the Royal Society. His grandfather, Erasmus Darwin, wrote a book which

was a clever precursor of the evolution theory, which, however, did not convince his own generation.

Galton was educated as a physician, was an extensive traveler in the Orient and in Africa. Every page of his memoirs is replete with instances of the reaction of his remarkable mind in most remarkable ways to all sorts of circumstances.

Galton began to write on Eugenics about 1864, but finding that the time was not ripe for the subject, he laid it aside to be resumed after fresh impetus had been given to the study of heredity by Weissman, De Vries and others.

Is There Need for the Study of Race-Culture?

Let me present some facts that will answer that question. And first a few from history.

The period of intellectual blight known as the Dark Ages is attributed by Galton to the selection for celibacy of the fairest and sweetest of the race in the monasteries and convents of the time.

The most rapid improvements in the human breed have occurred in colonies. Some common motive, such as to secure religious freedom, or to escape a tyrant, has driven them forth. Their children are the children of selected stock.

The colonies of Alexandria, Carthage, Alba Longa, the Huguenots, the Puritans, all developed rapidly into prosperous young civilizations.

Galton says, "It is remarkable how large a pro-

portion of the eminent men of all countries bear foreign names and are the children of political refugees — men well qualified to introduce a valuable strain of blood. We cannot fail to reflect on the glorious destiny of a country that should maintain during many generations the policy of attracting eminently desirable refugees, but no others, and of encouraging their settlement and the naturalization of their children."

The Evidence of Ill-Bred Humanity

Now, looking at the question from a slightly different viewpoint, let us take stock a little of our present human product.

In America insanity is increasing three times as fast as the population, and in England there is one imbecile to every four hundred people.

England spends annually $65,000,000 in the care of its degenerate classes. There are in England about 65,000 married or widowed insane; there are about 18,000 married or widowed idiots. There are at least 150,000 feeble-minded persons in the United States.

In England there are more than 50,000 epileptic children being educated in special schools. These children are cared for in institutions until about sixteen years of age, and then turned loose upon the public to begin to produce children like to themselves.

Deaf mutes are especially encouraged to marry, although nothing is more certain than the heredity of deaf-mutism. Robert Bell of Washington says, "Un-

less this system is changed we shall certainly have a deaf variety of the human race."

There are now several carefully worked-out pedigrees showing evil heredity in a single line, as the "Jukes Family," whose 709 descendants cost the country a million and a quarter of money in less than seventy-five years, there being three hundred and ten paupers, one hundred and thirty convicts, and over half of the women being prostitutes. Not one of the entire family had a common school education, and only twenty had a trade, ten of the twenty having learned trades in State's Prison.

The "Zero Family" of vagabonds from central Europe have furnished an even larger line of descendants of vagabonds, prostitutes, drunkards, and criminals.

The "Kallikak Family" of New England, so carefully traced through six generations by Dr. Goddard and his assistants, is an even more convincing illustration of how "blood will tell," for it shows in detail the results of two matings of an able man, the first an unlawful one, with a feeble-minded, nameless girl, the second with an able woman of good stock. From the latter union came some of the foremost citizens of America, with no feeble-minded, no illegitimate, and only two drunkards and no criminals. From the feeble-minded girl have come four hundred and eighty descendants, of whom one hundred and forty-three were known to be feeble-minded, while only forty-six were

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found to be normal, the rest being unknown or doubtful. Among these four hundred and eighty descendants there have been thirty-six illegitimate, thirty-three sex-offenders, mostly prostitutes, twenty-four drunkards, three epileptics, three criminals, and eight keepers of houses of ill-fame.

When we consider, in addition to such evidence as the above, figures showing the relative size of families among intellectuals, and among defectives, we see the danger clearly.

These figures differ for different localities, but all agree in making the number of children per family much higher in the defective than in the intelligent classes. For instance, the London Eugenics Laboratory statistics show that London mentally defective classes average seven children per family, and Edinburgh degenerates show six per family, whereas English intellectuals show only about two and one-half, and Harvard graduates show not more than three children per family. To quote Kellicott, "A group of organisms will tend to maintain constant characteristics through successive generations only when all parts of the group are equally fertile." Obviously, then, the character of the population in some of our larger cities must be deteriorating. As Emerson says, "We are breeding men with too much guano in their composition."

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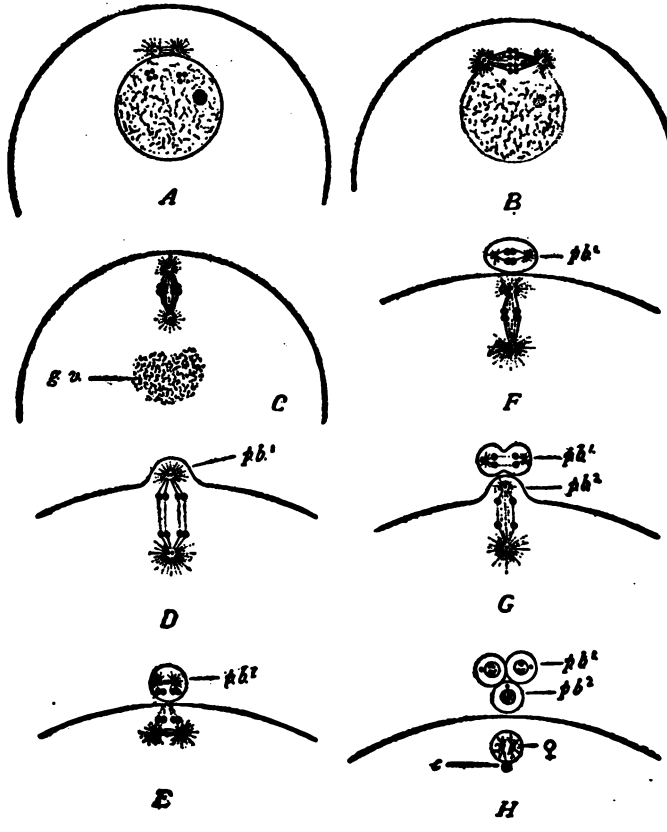
And when we say, "All life is from an egg," we, of course mean a mature and fertilized egg.

The Maturing of the Egg

And what is a mature egg? The expression sounds innocent enough, but there is a good deal of meaning in it. Before you fully understand it you must examine some diagrams, showing the egg and the process it must undergo before it is mature. You will see that the egg, which is one very large cell, has at its center a large, darkly staining, round body called the nucleus, and surrounding this the clearer cell body. The nucleus has a network of darker material, which, when the cell divides, always separates into a number of distinct bodies or rods, called chromosomes. There is a distinct, definite number of these bodies characteristic of each species. There is nearly always an even number of chromosomes, and there may be all the way from two to two hundred and sixty-four, or perhaps more. In man the number is said to be sixteen.

You will see from the illustration that before the egg matures all the chromosomes split longitudinally, thus doubling the number. Following this the nucleus divides, the cell giving off the so-called polar body, half the chromosomes going to this body and half remaining in the egg. A second polar body is also given off, and the first one usually divides, so that we now have four cells from the original one; namely, three useless little polar bodies, whose presumed function is to get



DIAGRAMS SHOWING THE MATURING OF THE EGG

The somatic number of Chromosomes is supposed to be four. *p. b.*, Polar Bodies; c., *Chromosomes.*—From "The Cell in Development and Inheritance."

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Add to such evidence as the above the well-known fact that society is rusted through and through with

race-destroying diseases that are concomitants of sex-vice, and it would seem that each and all should agree on the necessity of study and action.

If you are convinced of the necessity of taking thought for the morrow in this matter, let us now try to understand a few simple scientific principles underlying the subject.

The Physical Basis of Heredity

And first a few words as to the physical basis of heredity. Heredity is a fact. The egg of a turtle yields a turtle, not a frog. The egg of a cuckoo yields a cuckoo, even if hatched in a robin's nest. The child of a Jew is a Jew. These are matters of inheritance, quite as much as your possession of your grandmother's red hair, or your mother's sweet temper.

Is there a physical basis for heredity?

There is, and let us now for a few moments consider it.

"All life is from an egg," said Harvey ("*Omne vivum ex ovo.*")

There are some exceptions to this dictum of Harvey's. Among these would be the lower infusiorians, that do not have sex-reproduction, some animals that develop from buds and spores, some insects and crustaceans that have ordinarily mothers but no fathers. Above the fishes (and including them) Harvey was right.

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number of chromosomes characteristic of the body cells of the species. In the making of man, half the nuclear material must come from the father and half from the mother, but what is to prevent the half that comes from the father, for instance, segregating out all, or nearly all, grand-maternal characters, to the exclusion of a corresponding number of grand-paternal characters? Again, a bizarre genius, who may have a mixed heredity, may transmit his special aptitude to one child, and his bizarre qualities, without valuable traits, to another. Two brothers may be a fool and a genius. But, of course, these cases are exceptional, like the unexpected appearance of some character belonging to a remote ancestor, which had been latent for many generations.

Here is an explanation, based on microscopic study, of the varied inheritances of children of the same parents. In the maturing of the gametes, a "shuffling of the cards" takes place, of which no man could predict the individual result. The card figure is a good one. There is, literally, a new shuffle and a new deal; a new deal of the unit characters in the ancestry of the parents.

Enough has been said about chromosomes to suggest that these bodies, or perhaps definite parts of them, are the carriers of the inherited qualities, from generation to generation. And that, indeed, is the accepted theory of the present day. Whether it is the chromatin itself, of the linin network containing it which car-

ries heredity, is a minor question. We know that as a matter of fact, so far as can be measured, inheritance from the two parents is practically equal. And yet the sperm is sometimes no more than one one-hundred-thousandth of the volume of the egg. The one factor that the fertilized egg and sperm possess in nearly equal amounts is the chromatin of the nucleus.

Boveri experimented by shaking out the nuclei of *sphaerechinus* (sea-urchin) eggs, and fertilizing the remainder by sperms of a different genus, *echinus*. The progeny were all of the pure *echinus* type, showing that the nucleus only and not the rest of the cell carries the inheritance.

There are, indeed, several other lines of proof that the chromosomes are the carriers of inheritance.

Twins

The knowledge of a physical basis of inheritance helps us to understand what are known as identical twins. These twins develop from a single fertilized egg, which divides after fertilization. They develop within a single chorion, or outer membrane, and are *always* of the same sex. They are more closely related than any other living organisms, having, in fact, protoplasm of identical heredity, and always closely resemble each other. Often their own parents cannot tell them apart, it sometimes being a question whether they have not been changed several times in babyhood. These twins have a peculiar feeling of sympathy

almost amounting to a feeling of identity. One said that to kiss her twin sister was not like kissing any other person, but like kissing herself. They are apt to think the same thoughts. A given situation will elicit an almost identical response. They are apt to sicken at the same time, and if one goes insane, the other usually does also, at about the same time of life. Sometimes their paroxysms of madness and their lucid intervals correspond almost exactly in time. Galton has made a most interesting study of these cases, both where the twins were reared together and where they were separated.

While "one-egg" twins are of necessity similar, since they result from division of a single fertilized egg, it is almost inconceivable that any other two children of the same family should be precisely alike. The number of possible combinations of chromosomes from a single sperm mother cell and a single egg (each having its chromosomes doubled and then halved twice), would be many millions. One child would have one chance in some hundreds of millions, to have exactly the same *inheritance* as his brother. Since the average family is about four, such precisely similar brothers or sisters are unknown. Brothers and sisters resemble each other, but with the widest range of variability.

It would interest us to follow the development of the fertilized egg, as it responds to an intense tendency to divide, and it rapidly divides into two cells, and these

ness, reaches the neighborhood of the egg-cell, and comes in contact with its cell-wall. The ovum sends up a little hill to meet the sperm, and the head of the sperm becomes embedded in the egg. The tail of the sperm is absorbed, and only the head and middle piece joins the ovum. The "centrosome" or attraction sphere of the sperm, which is a curious, almost invisible point, around which the chromosomes arrange themselves, becomes a part of the egg, and we now have an egg with two nuclei. These, however, approach each other, and quickly become united into one nucleus, which has therefore obtained half its chromatic substance from each parent. The chromosomes from egg and sperm do not seem to unite, but to remain separate and distinguishable, in the same nucleus.

Why Do Children of the Same Parents Differ?

Did you ever wonder why children of the same parents are not all exactly alike? Why, indeed, may we have an imbecile and a genius from the same stock, without the intervention of any great accident or any profound difference of nurture?

It is not to be forgotten that even if the immature egg-cells were all exactly alike, that in maturation three-fourths of the nuclear material, after the doubling of the chromosomes, is thrown away, and only one-fourth retained in each gamete, or reproductive cell, and that the mature egg and sperm each contain only half of the

number of chromosomes characteristic of the body cells of the species. In the making of man, half the nuclear material must come from the father and half from the mother, but what is to prevent the half that comes from the father, for instance, segregating out all, or nearly all, grand-maternal characters, to the exclusion of a corresponding number of grand-paternal characters? Again, a bizarre genius, who may have a mixed heredity, may transmit his special aptitude to one child, and his bizarre qualities, without valuable traits, to another. Two brothers may be a fool and a genius. But, of course, these cases are exceptional, like the unexpected appearance of some character belonging to a remote ancestor, which had been latent for many generations.

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It seems that both sexes are present in each individual with one sex latent. We know this from anatomy, vestiges of sex structures of the opposite sex being present in all higher animals.

It is interesting that rotifers, daphnids and aphids produce two distinct kinds of eggs, which develop parthenogenetically, entirely without contact with any sperm cell, the one kind into males, and the other into females.

Some animals, as the grasshopper, produce two kinds of spermatozoa, one of which is lacking in one chromosome, the so-called "x" chromosome, which is present in both the egg and the other sort of spermatozoön.

An egg fertilized with a sperm carrying an x-chromosome develops into a female. If fertilized by a sperm lacking an x-chromosome it develops into a male. Sex is a "unit-character" of a kind that does not mix in the germ-cells. The occasional appearance of hermaphrodites is, of course, the exception to this rule.

Much more work (not speculation) is needed on this question. For the best we know at present, sex is a matter of Mendelian inheritance, the female resulting from the union of like germ-cells, and the male from the union of unlike germ-cells. In some animals the eggs are of two kinds, and in others the sperms are of two kinds. The possibility of controlling the sex of human offspring, for anything we know at present, is *nil.*

the result was that three-fourths of the third-generation plants resembled the tall parent, and one-fourth resembled the dwarf parent. But out of three that resembled the tall parent, only one bred true, and the remaining two produced a mixed progeny, three-fourths dominant, and one-fourth recessive.

In the same way, if we cross a pure black rabbit with a pure white rabbit, the resulting mixed progeny are all black. But when these blacks of the second generation are bred together, the result is, on an average, one white and three blacks. Of the three blacks of the third generation, only one will breed true, and two will go on producing blacks and whites in the proportion of one white to three blacks, the blacks always being of two sorts, and only one out of three of them breeding true.

It is interesting to notice what characters will dominate. Round seed will dominate over angular wrinkled seed; yellow seed-coats over green ones; colored seeds and flowers over white ones; rose-color will dominate over other colors; gray rats over white rats, and long fur in rabbits over short fur.

It is therefore easy to see how characters can be recombined through selection; how, for instance, from a white short-eared rabbit and a gray lop-eared variety a white lop-eared variety may be secured.

When it comes to the combining of more than two or three unit-characters, the problem becomes extremely complicated.

is constantly amazed at the quickness and clearness of his mind. He cleverly punctured the one bit of wild speculation that Darwin ever indulged in. This was Darwin's theory of pangenesis. This theory presupposed that gemmules are given off from all the cells of the body for reproductive purposes, and that these gemmules have a tendency to collect in the reproductive glands. Each part of the body would then be represented in every germ cell. This theory presupposed that numbers of these gemmules are, of course, always floating in the blood.

Galton, knowing the profound effect in his basset hounds, of the slightest mixture of blood of hounds of another color, transfused into his breeding hounds blood from varying strains of hounds. Even when a third of the blood of his animals had been replaced, there was not the slightest noticeable effect. If gemmules had been floating in the transfused blood the color of offspring should have been affected.

Galton's Law of Ancestral Inheritance

Galton's other great law, the law of Ancestral Inheritance, is of equal or greater importance, and rests on carefully collated observations, the work being done with basset hounds, and from stature and other measurable qualities in man.

Ordinarily our inheritance is strictly biparental. Half the inheritance-bearing material, which we have seen is the chromosomes, is from father and half from

mother, and we inherit equally from each. But since each parent had two parents and four grandparents, the question follows as to whether we inherit equally from our four grandparents, our eight great-grandparents, etc.

Now Galton found that as a matter of fact, "The two parents contribute on the average one-half of each inherited faculty, each of them contributing a quarter of it. The four grandparents contribute between them one-quarter, or each of them one-sixteenth; and so on back, the sum of all the fractions being ultimately equal to one."

Thus the degree to which a parental character affects offspring depends not alone on its development in the parent, but on its degree of development in the ancestors of the parent.

The importance of this is colossal. To quote Karl Pearson, "Looked at from the social standpoint, we see how exceptional families, by careful marriages, can within even a few generations obtain an exceptional stock, and how directly this suggests assortive mating as a moral duty for the highly endowed."

This law should cause us to reflect on such customs as that (still current in places) of denying university fellowships to married men, thus encouraging celibacy or late marriages in the most gifted; or that other practice, widespread in both England and America, of persecuting or dismissing women teachers who marry, or at least such as have children. As one teacher said, the

rules of the board make it a misdemeanor for a married teacher to become a mother.

A case in point is that of Katherine C. Edgell, a teacher of physical culture in one of the New York City High Schools. This teacher actually asked for a year's leave of absence without pay, for the avowed purpose of bearing a child. The New York Board of Education is prejudiced against married teachers, but the courts have decided that it can neither refuse them certificates nor dismiss them for "committing matrimony."

This was not the first time in the history of the New York schools that a teacher had taken a vacation for that purpose, but leave had hitherto been secured under a pretext, such as study, failing health, or travel. But here was a woman devoid of subterfuge, who believed motherhood to be a duty, and no disgrace. The request had to be met fairly, and it was refused. The antecedent discussion in the board was interesting.

On the one hand were those who objected to penalizing maternity, and who thought that matrons might be beneficial to the schools, and on the other those who were willing to assume the responsibility of deciding that no woman can sustain the burden of maternity together with a congenial, lucrative employment. Such people might well begin their voluntary child-protection efforts with the children of women who have long hours at washing, scrubbing, or cleaning spittoons in city office buildings, or sewing in sweatshops, but they

never do. It is always the child of the relatively affluent business or professional woman who draws their fire.

It would seem to be the part of wisdom, when such rapid changes are occurring in the social status of women, for boards, and councils, and legislatures to keep hands off, and let the women work out their own solutions of these questions. But if they must interfere, why discourage a voluntary, a capable motherhood, and encourage the involuntary, the captive, and the forced maternity?

Let us remember that the finest children may not be presumed to be produced from mothers who are the culls of our commercial selection, who perhaps marry because they are too dull or too lazy to hold their own in the intellectual or the business world. If the educated woman and the business or professional woman is to endure, in the long run, it will be because her children stand the merciless test of natural selection better than the children of the dependent woman, whom Olive Schreiner so unhesitatingly designates a parasite.

The evolution of man has been the evolution of the brain, and brains are inherited from both sides of the house, and transmitted without respect to the sex of the offspring. The child of the mother who succeeds in business and in intellectual pursuits should have a better than average inheritance, and should win in the struggle for existence. Can any possible difference in nurture in favor of the dependent woman's children justify us

is constantly amazed at the quickness and clearness of his mind. He cleverly punctured the one bit of wild speculation that Darwin ever indulged in. This was Darwin's theory of pangenesis. This theory presupposed that gemmules are given off from all the cells of the body for reproductive purposes, and that these gemmules have a tendency to collect in the reproductive glands. Each part of the body would then be represented in every germ cell. This theory presupposed that numbers of these gemmules are, of course, always floating in the blood.

Galton, knowing the profound effect in his basset hounds, of the slightest mixture of blood of hounds of another color, transfused into his breeding hounds blood from varying strains of hounds. Even when a third of the blood of his animals had been replaced, there was not the slightest noticeable effect. If gemmules had been floating in the transfused blood the color of offspring should have been affected.

Galton's Law of Ancestral Inheritance

Galton's other great law, the law of Ancestral Inheritance, is of equal or greater importance, and rests on carefully collated observations, the work being done with basset hounds, and from stature and other measurable qualities in man.

Ordinarily our inheritance is strictly biparental. Half the inheritance-bearing material, which we have seen is the chromosomes, is from father and half from

mother, and we inherit equally from each. But since each parent had two parents and four grandparents, the question follows as to whether we inherit equally from our four grandparents, our eight great-grandparents, etc.

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per cent of abdominal operations done by him to this cause. Prof. Landau of Berlin, who was my teacher, said that ninety per cent of his operations on women were due to this disease. It is now well known to the public that gonorrhoea may cause the most serious inflammation of the eyes of the new-born. The eyes are infected during the passage through the birth canal.

The cause of gonorrhoea is a little germ, occurring in pairs, and shaped like two biscuits placed face to face. It occurs both free in the secretions and in the pus cells and the epithelial cells, and may lie dormant in the tissues for years. As a race destroyer it is vastly more important than syphilis or any other disease.

Syphilis, unlike gonorrhoea, is a constitutional disease. While the latter is referred to in the most ancient literature, syphilis was first definitely known in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when it spread as a vast epidemic all over Europe. It is chronic and curable after a long course of treatment. It is not to be supposed, however, that a cured individual is quite as before. There may be no inheritance of the disease, and yet the individual and the stock be permanently injured by a "cured" syphilitic. Syphilitic stock is degenerate stock. It is on the down grade, even when the infection has burnt out and left behind only its devastation. Syphilis is the one disease that is directly inherited, the reproductive cells transmitting the germ from parent to child. No person with syphilis

or who ever has had syphilis has, in my opinion, any right to marry.

"If a man contracts syphilis, he lives a syphilitic, his children will be syphilitic, he dies a syphilitic, his corpse is syphilitic, and his ghost on the judgment day will be syphilitic."

Years and years after a supposedly complete cure a man may beget syphilitic children. A girl who marries such a man is purchasing "damaged goods." She is likely to be the companion, sooner or later, of a querulous invalid, who can not support a home, nor beget healthy children, and who has a naked sword hanging over his head so long as he lives. Venereal diseases are especially operative in the upper and lower financial strata of society.

Now, it may be true that those who do not desire parenthood would, as a rule, be undesirable parents. Probably their own children would never have elected them, if they had been consulted. But it is indeed sad that a large per cent of our finest women, who earnestly desire to be mothers, are prevented by these diseases from the accomplishment of their desire.

If any high civilization is to endure, as none has endured in the past, it must cope with race diseases. Either it must exterminate them or use them as means by which to eliminate the unfit. Alas, they are far too ubiquitous now to serve the purposes of natural selection. When we have arrived at the time when chastity for men before the time of marriage shall be

the rule instead of the exception, then venereal diseases may prove fitting executioners for strains or races that lack the necessary self-control to lead the monogamic life. Hitherto they have, together with the race poisons, acted in wiping civilizations off the earth.

Other diseases that cause race deterioration are leprosy and tuberculosis. The former is too seldom in our climate to deserve extended notice here.

Tuberculosis, while ordinarily not inherited as a disease, is inherited as a tendency, a predisposition, a weakness of the stock. When we consider, in addition to this sort of heredity, the chance of infection in rearing children in the presence of a contagious disease it would certainly seem that the tuberculous should voluntarily exclude themselves from the privilege of parenthood. Dr. Saleeby ("Parenthood and Race Culture") is of the opinion that tuberculous individuals should marry with the settled intention of having no children. He would grant the same privilege to those of insane heredity, but not insane. I can not coincide in his opinion. I fear his plan would not stand the test of efficiency. Too often I have known diseased people who meant to have no children, and yet who left their misfortunes magnified as a heritage to their little ones. Perhaps a sterilizing operation might justify such a marriage, but I confess that the idea is distasteful to me. It would be better to have a celibate order for the eugenically unfit.

I have mentioned alcohol as a race poison. I must, however, admit that there are eugenists of the first rank (notably Karl Pearson) who doubt whether alcohol has any deleterious effect on the offspring. But the American experts, particularly Goddard and Davenport, have pretty uniformly reached the other opinion. I, myself, believe that a poison that affects brain and lung and liver and heart so unfavorably would also affect the germ plasm.

Methods of Eugenics

The methods of eugenics are classified as positive and negative. The negative methods would seek to eliminate the unfit by causing them not to reproduce. Positive eugenics would seek, by proper matings and by increased reproduction from the better stocks, to promote, through heredity, the development of a better human type.

The very young should not marry. It was known even to Aristotle that very young mothers suffer more in childbirth than older ones. The mortality for both mother and child is very much greater among girls under sixteen.

Korosi has compiled statistics which show, also, that the mortality is much higher for the children of very young fathers and mothers. I quote from Krish:

"Where the mothers had married at the age of sixteen the mortality of the offspring was among Catholics forty-three per cent, among Jews thirty-

per cent of abdominal operations done by him to this cause. Prof. Landau of Berlin, who was my teacher, said that ninety per cent of his operations on women were due to this disease. It is now well known to the public that gonorrhoea may cause the most serious inflammation of the eyes of the new-born. The eyes are infected during the passage through the birth canal.

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some proof of health should in every case be required as a requisite for a marriage license. Whether in lieu of such proof a doctor's certificate is enough, or whether it would be well to require a careful examination by a board of three physicians, is for the future to decide. Surely we should not spare expense, for however lavishly we may spend on the prevention of marriages that will breed defectives, we shall save in the long run by lifting from the state the burden of their care. As to just what types, or what individuals shall be denied the privileges of matrimony, there are many battles to be waged yet. Syphilis should, of course, exclude, because of its heritability and its property of weakening the stock, producing insanity, imbecility, tuberculosis, epilepsy, nervous diseases and general degeneration. Gonorrhoea should be a ground for refusing a license, because it so frequently produces sterility and destroys the life or health of the woman. Alcoholics should be denied the right to marry, if not for reasons of heredity, then by reason of the danger to life and limb and the poor general environment, both for mother and child, provided in the drunkard's home. "The drunkard begets nothing that is good." The daughters and granddaughters of alcoholics rapidly lose the ability to nurse their babies. This is an anti-eugenic result of alcoholism, until recently unsuspected.

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potential child demand some change in our divorce laws. A love marriage between fitting mates is the ideal, and that ideal is as much outraged by the continuance of a marriage that is against the welfare of the partners and of posterity as by the original contracting of such a marriage. All that can be urged against the money marriage or the marriage of the convent-bred girl to the roue can be urged against the continuance of such a marriage.

The wife who finds too late that she has married an irreclaimable drunkard or a drug fiend or a syphilitic or a madman should not, for her mistake, be condemned to a living grave. To deny her a divorce is often to compel her to go on bearing children who are a national liability instead of a national asset; children who, instead of rising up and calling her blessed, will curse the hour that they were born. Surely these marriages, absolutely bad from a eugenic viewpoint, should be freely dissolved. The question is not, indeed, should we allow divorce for these grave, posterity destroying evils; the question is, should not many of our defectives and delinquents be divorced against their wills.

Further, the man who has inflicted on his unsuspecting wife gonorrhoea, with its long trail of ills and its frequent sequel of surgical operations, should be divorced in the interest of his wife's recovery.

I am quite frankly looking at the question from a woman's viewpoint, for woman is the chief sufferer

from marriage with the diseased and woman is the applicant for divorce in three-fourths of the cases. But, of course, the laws should apply equally to both sexes.

But while we put relief within the reach of these unhappy women now compelled to continue propagating the unfit, let us not forget that there is much need of educating public sentiment against frivolous divorce, as well as against frivolous marriage. A few marriages, but only a few, are intolerable because the partners are simply mismated. For these we should have divorce by mutual consent, after a preliminary separation of a year or more. This is the law of Norway at present, and such mutual consent divorces, under varying conditions, are granted also in Sweden, Japan, Austria, Roumania, Belgium and Italy.

Much married misery would be saved by a little preliminary knowledge. Instruction in sex physiology and hygiene should be a part of every young person's equipment for life. There is no greater mistake than to suppose that in sex matters humanity is merely in the grip of blind instinct. On all hands you find them pleading for instruction, groping for ideals. Few young men would commit the crimes that they do against posterity, poisoning the very fountain of race life, if they only knew. How often physicians hear that refrain, "I had no idea that I had anything that could injure my wife."

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Of course, there is a cause behind the appearance of this bad breed, and that underlying cause is economic.

Much may be accomplished by negative methods. By the simple device of segregating paupers, and preventing their reproduction, the Cretin beggars of the Italian city of Aosta, who formerly swarmed the streets importuning every passerby, have been diminished in but a few short years until scarcely one is left. Formerly these half-witted creatures had a prodigious birth rate, as well as a large death rate, and the blessing of the church was pronounced upon their unions. They were the plague of the place, and without harming one of them individually they have been eugenically exterminated.

The Ideals of Eugenics

But after all, eugenics inspires grander dreams than any suggested by these purely negative methods.

Why has humanity, these many ages, been fabricating Venuses and Apollos and a host of other idealizations if not as patterns toward which mankind shall build? How many ancient gods has average humanity already outstripped in all the virtues? How are we compelled from age to age to revamp the outlines of our old deities to meet a better and better standard?

The close connection between religion and the sex emotions has been repeatedly remarked, both in their normal and in their abnormal manifestations. And what more natural? To the lover the beloved one is

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species, for more and more we apprehend a duty to the lower animals and now, at last, we are holding ourselves responsible, not only for progeny, but for the kind of progeny.

It seems the last sense of responsibility to awake in us the responsibility for our children's children — for the race that shall inhabit the earth when we shall have passed away. But it is coming.

"To pass on the torch of life, not only undimmed, but ever brighter:" that is an aspiration that may touch the deepest wellsprings of virtue in the human heart; that may lead to effort or endurance hitherto unknown; that may arouse a zeal that is all but religious; nay, that is more than religious; or perhaps, in the last analysis, that *is* religious. Let me quote the words of Galton:

"I take eugenics very seriously, feeling that its principles ought to become one of the dominant motives in a civilized nation, much as if they were one of its religious tenets. Man is gifted with pity and other kindly feelings; he has also the power of preventing many kinds of suffering. I conceive it to fall well within his power to replace natural selection by other processes that are more merciful and not less effective. This is precisely the aim of eugenics." * * *

"Natural selection rests upon excessive production, and wholesale destruction; eugenics on bringing no more individuals into the world than can be properly cared for, and these only of the best stock." * * *

Where, in these changeful times, are they being taught the duties of marriage? Who counsels them on the patience and forbearance necessary, and on the liberty of the other that must not be violated? Who shows them how to attain that self-surrender which is the very essence of marriage, and how to avoid the hampering sense of ownership which tests so severely the tensile strength of the marriage bond?

After all is said, the remedy for frivolous divorce and frivolous marriage is not to have frivolous people, and the remedy for frivolous people, since we can not chloroform them, is not to breed them. And here we have arrived at our starting point — eugenics, good stock.

A foolish hen who forsakes her eggs half incubated does this because she is a badly bred hen. She can not be trained. If you have her, you must worry along with her or cut her head off. But the remedy is to keep better hens.

A husband or wife who forsakes the love of his youth and a family of half-grown children to philander after some more recent fancy is, after all, just bad stock, and the badness consists in too great an exaggeration of the ego.

Such a person is an anti-social individual and, as Karl Pearson says, "The safety of a gregarious animal — and man is essentially such — depends upon the intensity with which the social instinct has been developed."

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indeed a goddess. All the attributes that he has built into an ideal woman he etherealizes and wraps in a becoming haze, to make his deity. And when he selects a mate he chooses one in whom he sees, or imagines, the beautiful and noble qualities of his goddess. In so choosing he is, by slow steps, approximating his offspring to his ideal.

Perhaps, after all, love is not so blind. Perhaps he often sees virtues that, though hidden from our eyes, may blossom in the coming generations.

But after all that preferential mating (or the love marriage) can do for humanity is done, there is more to do. I have shown you how the reproductive balance is now in favor of the pauper and the degenerate. And we, with our charities and our tenderness for all the weak of our race, have caused the unfit to survive. The law of natural selection is made to work backward in civilization.

Our most pressing present task is, without eliminating human tenderness, to undo this harm. To this end we must have knowledge. Eugenic investigation must go on. We must be made to see the situation more and more clearly; and, having gained the clearer view, we must develop — we are indeed developing — the eugenic conscience and the eugenic ideal.

With growing refinement of our ethics, we enlarge our sense of responsibility. It is no longer bounded by the interests of self or family or clan; nor by any narrow patriotism; nor even by the limits of our own

fewest of all. Of all races of men those we call the higher races produce the smallest families.

It is entirely possible to have an increasing population with a diminishing birth rate. The death rate will show an even greater diminution. Such is the fact in Australia and New Zealand to-day. In contrast are India and China, where reproduction outruns the food supply. They should warn us that there is little joy in the struggle of brothers for bread.

What we have to fear is the swamping of higher races and stocks by lower ones, because the former have become largely sterile.

The shallow question is often asked, "Shall we apply the method of the stock breeder to humanity?"

No. Eugenic measures are not the measures of the stock breeder. We are subject to no superior will, as are our cattle. Our combined wills expressed in laws may prevent the breeding of defectives, and the iron law of public opinion now largely prevents the mixture of races and classes. We visit with our displeasure marriages of black and white, of near relatives, and of people of widely different social station, and even of wealth and poverty. Woe to the woman to-day who marries her coachman. She need not expect her former friends to call. And woe to the man who weds his servant. He need not look to see her readily received into society. Does not this social taboo prevent many a man from falling in love with his cook and many a woman from marrying her milkman or her

coachman? I believe that the individual is only a little less responsible for being in love than for being intoxicated.

Someone has said that eugenics is the study of how we shall fall in love wisely. It is true.

We are not to forget that the love marriage, except for seldom cases, is a relatively modern institution. In fact, it scarcely exists to-day outside of English-speaking peoples.

How much has this to do with the pre-eminence of the Anglo-Saxon race? Is not love a better selecter of mates than the *shadchan?* Does not love elect such mates as the poets, Elizabeth and Robert Browning, or the musicians, Robert and Clara Schumann? Does it not account for such remarkable eugenic products as Sebastian Bach and Charles Darwin?

Is there anything in the compulsory child marriages of India to account for the general dead level of inefficiency of the East Indian population? There may be.

The inheritance from prostitutes is too little to be more than a minor menace. Prostitutes only average about one child to two individuals. The danger to posterity lies in the male patron of the prostitute who becomes afterward the father of numerous diseased and degenerate children. It is unjust to judge the prostitute more harshly than her more guilty partner. I do not think that the average modern woman does so. But not being able to recognize the man, she takes

it out in a distrust of men in general. Really, we know that the man commits the greater crime. He adds hypocrisy to his fault. The sin of the prostitute is overt. She makes no pretense of purity, no claim to health. The man who frequents her abode knows that she is more dangerous than smallpox, more infectious than the plague; and he goes forth from the segregated district to live a lie. He repays those who love and trust him with lies. He swears fidelity when he knows that the capacity for fidelity has gone out of him in his early youth; he gives his wife as a wedding gift the loathsome infection that he has brought from the brothel. This man is a thousand times more guilty than the woman to whom he goes in her swamp of vice to purchase disease for himself and his posterity. He is the real danger to the race and should always be avoided.

A man who votes for, or patronizes the segregated district promotes the work of the white slaver, the cadet and the procurer. He gives his vote to favor locked doors and knockout drops and barred windows for the captured or seduced daughters of the poor.

Let us excuse no man for the sowing of wild oats, for man as well as woman is the custodian of the germ plasm, the bearer of the torch of life. Let us not forgive that which even the Most High God does not forgive when he visits the sins of the fathers on the children, even to the third and fourth generation.

"The chief peril of infant life, and one but rarely

of saving much infant suffering. And, best of all, would be the upward slant that it would give the human stock.

But must this necessarily mean a large birth rate per mother? I think not. Not the birth rate, but the *relative* birth rate for the different classes affects the character of the people.

Galton works out an elaborate mathematical computation to show that, other things being equal, the progeny of two men, one marrying at twenty-two and one at thirty-three years of age, should differ profoundly, the former being four times as numerous as the latter at the end of the century. One is apt to be scared by mathematical computations. But I remember that the shark lays a million eggs, and I am not alarmed for the slow-breeding stock. "Other things are not equal."

A high birth rate is accompanied by a high death rate. Then twenty-two is below the optimum age of marriage for men and the infant mortality for the children of such marriages is high. The poverty incident to an overstocked nursery is prone to deplete that nursery in later years. Large families have usually many funerals.

There seems to be a growing tendency, in the advance of animal life, to conserve the raw material and energy wasted in unsuccessful attempts at reproduction. The birds have fewer progeny than the fishes and the mammals rather fewer than the birds and man

fewest of all. Of all races of men those we call the higher races produce the smallest families.

It is entirely possible to have an increasing population with a diminishing birth rate. The death rate will show an even greater diminution. Such is the fact in Australia and New Zealand to-day. In contrast are India and China, where reproduction outruns the food supply. They should warn us that there is little joy in the struggle of brothers for bread.

What we have to fear is the swamping of higher races and stocks by lower ones, because the former have become largely sterile.

The shallow question is often asked, "Shall we apply the method of the stock breeder to humanity?"

No. Eugenic measures are not the measures of the stock breeder. We are subject to no superior will, as are our cattle. Our combined wills expressed in laws may prevent the breeding of defectives, and the iron law of public opinion now largely prevents the mixture of races and classes. We visit with our displeasure marriages of black and white, of near relatives, and of people of widely different social station, and even of wealth and poverty. Woe to the woman to-day who marries her coachman. She need not expect her former friends to call. And woe to the man who weds his servant. He need not look to see her readily received into society. Does not this social taboo prevent many a man from falling in love with his cook and many a woman from marrying her milkman or her

just enough for the old swarm and the new colonies. For all we know, the bee baby that is to be queen is selected quite at random; but the drone that becomes a father must be victor among many, sometimes hundreds of competitors, in the nuptial flight.

Man, on the other hand, has no such reproductive activity. The human female has an average fertile period of thirty years and women have exceptionally produced twenty-three to thirty children. However, a normal maximum would be one child in two years, making a range of possibility of one to fifteen, or exceptionally of one to thirty children to the human female. The tendency of all historic time is to diminish, not to increase, the average, and this tendency is more marked now than ever.

Without a change that would be equal to the production of a new order of animals, man could hardly emulate the method of the bee in race culture. The first limitation of the problem of improving the human stock is the limitation of the fertility of the human female.

Improvement is not to come from the descendants of the few. It must come from the many. At our present birth rate (four, plus or minus) only approximately one woman out of three could be excused from motherhood without diminishing the population; and with the highest conceivable birth rate but three out of four women might be eliminated and the numbers keep up.

it out in a distrust of men in general. Really, we know that the man commits the greater crime. He adds hypocrisy to his fault. The sin of the prostitute is overt. She makes no pretense of purity, no claim to health. The man who frequents her abode knows that she is more dangerous than smallpox, more infectious than the plague; and he goes forth from the segregated district to live a lie. He repays those who love and trust him with lies. He swears fidelity when he knows that the capacity for fidelity has gone out of him in his early youth; he gives his wife as a wedding gift the loathsome infection that he has brought from the brothel. This man is a thousand times more guilty than the woman to whom he goes in her swamp of vice to purchase disease for himself and his posterity. He is the real danger to the race and should always be avoided.

A man who votes for, or patronizes the segregated district promotes the work of the white slaver, the cadet and the procurer. He gives his vote to favor locked doors and knockout drops and barred windows for the captured or seduced daughters of the poor.

Let us excuse no man for the sowing of wild oats, for man as well as woman is the custodian of the germ plasm, the bearer of the torch of life. Let us not forgive that which even the Most High God does not forgive when he visits the sins of the fathers on the children, even to the third and fourth generation.

"The chief peril of infant life, and one but rarely

listed in the books of hygiene and medicine, is the peril of parentage."

Of all the anti-eugenic institutions in human history the most degrading is war. In the old time, when it was a matter of personal combat, it may have preserved the breed of the strong. In modern times it serves to eliminate the strong. When all men fought, and fought with swords and spears and lances, the strongest survived. Now, however, in war time the weak remain at home to propagate the race and the strong are mercilessly mowed down by machine guns, against which no strength is proof.

"What has posterity done for me?" asked Napoleon. So he lopped off a cubit from the stature of the French nation by leaving the finest sons of France to rot on many a European battlefield. And so to-day our greatest war is the war against war.

Democracy and Eugenics

To be effective, a eugenic movement must be democratic. The human race must come up as a whole, or at least in large sections. Not all scientists see this.

It is quite otherwise with the bee, for instance, which, next to man perhaps, of all the animals has the best organized society. But the bee is adapted for but a narrow range of activities. To feed upon the honey and pollen of flowers and to adapt her city to the changing seasons and the rigors of the climate she

lives in, and to find favored spots of nature for her home, these are her tasks.

Man, on the contrary, is chiefly adapted for adapting his environment to his needs; and so, not being satisfied with his natural food, he cooks it; or he transforms it by producing new species of plants and animals. To be sure, some ants also have domestic animals and raise gardens. Indeed, Lubbock tells of a species of slave-keeping ants, whose one intelligent act is to carry off the young of other ants for slaves. These creatures will die in the presence of abundant food if there is no slave to feed them. They have outdone our own leisure class.

But man's transformation of environment is incomparably greater than that of any other animal. Though but a feeble swimmer, he traverses the ocean and builds and dives beneath its surface; though wingless, he navigates the air, and though without claws, he digs deeper than any other creature. He changes the courses of rivers and connects ocean with ocean to expedite his commerce. In a word, he has developed brain function chiefly adapted for adapting his environment to himself.

The bees have not our human compulsion toward democracy. They belong to an egg-laying type, and to raise the quality of their stock they have but to raise the quality of their mother (who is the mother of the entire city and lays some millions of eggs) and of the victorious male. The bees raise few mothers—

just enough for the old swarm and the new colonies. For all we know, the bee baby that is to be queen is selected quite at random; but the drone that becomes a father must be victor among many, sometimes hundreds of competitors, in the nuptial flight.

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Improvement is not to come from the descendants of the few. It must come from the many. At our present birth rate (four, plus or minus) only approximately one woman out of three could be excused from motherhood without diminishing the population; and with the highest conceivable birth rate but three out of four women might be eliminated and the numbers keep up.

It is needless to say that we are tending to the lower rather than to the higher birth rate.

And so human eugenics, in contrast to that of the bee, must be democratic. The great body of the race must rise together. We must eliminate the unfit — the culls, as a breeder would say — by not allowing them to reproduce, for we can not kill them or throw them out to perish, as the bees do.

The Woman Movement and Eugenics

There are those who look askance at the woman movement, anticipating an evil eugenic effect from the education of women and from the participation of women in business and politics. It would be presumption for me to say that these fears are groundless. Remembering, however, that heredity is strictly biparental, we can at least hope that the new fields for women will serve to select those of better mentality (which would mean of better stock) for parentage. We are far from having attained this result. And yet, so far as education is concerned, we all know that it is at present a qualification for the marriage market. But education means, in the long run, brains fit to receive it, and so the educational qualification of the younger woman for marriage is a selective eugenic measure.

It is well for every woman, however, to think this matter through and to realize that any woman movement that is correlated with sterility is doomed to

failure and annihilation. What shall it profit us eugenically to have women delve in laboratories, or search the heavens, or rule the nations, if the world is to be peopled by scrub-women and peasants?

The two great preliminaries to race improvement are the abolition of war and the liberation of women. Both movements are under way. And so I may close by recommending the future developments of my subject to your attention. In the words of George Meredith: "I think that all right to use of life, and the one secret of life, is to pave ways for the firmer footing of those that shall come after us."

(The following eugenic measures were passed by the legislatures of the various states in the year 1912-13:

Laws requiring a physician's certificate of health as a preliminary to marriage, in Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Oklahoma and Colorado.

Laws legalizing the sterilization of habitual criminals in Kansas and Wisconsin, and of habitual criminals and other defectives in Michigan. A law making venereal diseases reportable in Wisconsin.)

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW. PART III

1. What is Eugenics? Who first used the term Eugenics?

2. What was the eugenic teaching of Plato? Of Aristotle? What is the Malthusian Doctrine?

3. How does Eugenics depend on the principles of evolution? What is Galton's Law of Ancestral Inheritance? What was the law of Filial Regression?

4. What are some of the anti-eugenic measures of history? What can you say of the quality of the stock developed from colonies of religious and political refugees?

5. What can you say of the relative size of families among degenerates and among intellectuals? Are degenerate classes increasing or diminishing in the centers of population?

6. What is meant by maturation of the ovum? How do the number of chromosomes in egg and sperm correspond? What is the effect of maturation of egg and sperm on the number of chromosomes that each carries?

7. What is meant by fertilization? What are the negative problems of Eugenics?

8. What can you say as to the inheritance of consumption? Syphilis? Feeble-mindedness? Epilepsy?

Self-Government in Industry

The demand for individual democracy is the logical sequence of our people's education. What more natural than that the principle which our government has ever sought to instill in the hearts of a loyal people should be applied to their struggle for social liberty and social justice?

Self-government in the day's work—a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, to be established in the workshops of the world!

The nineteenth century was ushered in amid a momentous revolution,—the introduction of machinery. Gradually has mechanical invention substituted machinery for the work of the skilled artisan. Exhibitors of machinery display placards of this kind:

"THIS MACHINE DOES THE WORK OF TEN MEN"

"THIS MACHINE CAN BE RUN BY A WOMAN"

"ANY CHILD CAN RUN THIS MACHINE"

As it is impossible to instill even a meager supply of intelligence into the heaving, throbbing metal, a human operator is put in, as the last necessary attachment to the machine. Not only is skill thus largely eliminated, but physical strength and the power of endurance are also less essential, and so, behold the woman, the girl, even the little child, entering the world of labor, as unskilled and untrained workers. No place is this for any creative genius; no need here of imagination, of

ability to think, to develop, in response to a desire for increasing knowledge and skill,—only an automaton, the last necessary adjunct, an essential part of the machinery.

The greatest value in the trade agreement, in arbitration and trade boards, and boards of sanitary control, lies in the opportunity given for self-government. It is this industrial democracy,—the establishment of self-government in the workshops of America,—which is the very foundation of trade-union principles. Many and many a time this call to self-government, this sense of responsibility towards her condition of work, is the first awakening of the young girl. Unorganized, she has to accept conditions as she finds them—low wages, long hours, abusive language, insanitary conditions, locked doors, fire dangers, work destructive of her physical strength with its promise of the future, work destructive of her moral and spiritual development. Alone, she cannot even protest against these conditions, except at the risk of losing her job. She has tried,—she now knows. She loses her job when she asserts her fundamental right to have a voice as to the conditions under which she works. Self-government is essential to the making of a free people, and self-government in the day's work can be had only by the united action of the workers.

A Determined Opposition

Industrial democracy has had to meet an opposition so determined and so powerful that to join a trade

union often means to invite persecution. Girls are sometimes asked to sign pledges not to join a union before they are given work. If it becomes known that they wish to organize, they are threatened with the loss of their positions. Sometimes the most petty persecution is practiced toward union women in non-union shops.

Since we believe in a movement for human betterment, through self-government in the day's work, and recognizing, too, that this battle for industrial democracy can be won only by united action, the National Women's Trade Union League is pledged for trade union organization. This is an immense undertaking. There are eight million working women in the United States, and fully one-half of these are young girls under twenty-one, who, for their own protection and for the protection of the Nation, need training in citizenship. Organization of the workers is imperative, for the sake of the girl and for the sake of the community. The battle for industrial freedom can be won only by and with and through the whole people.

Organization among young girls is brought about in a very simple fashion,— the simpler the better. Fellowship is the keynote of it all, for in its essence, trade organization in her craft means for the working girl a quickening of the heart and mind, a teaching in self-control, fidelity, and self-reliance, a deeper knowledge of life and sense of fellowship in the world drama of industrial and social progress,— and beyond the monotony of

her daily toil she sees a vision of the kingdom of righteousness and justice, and feels a heart hunger to experience the kind of womanhood that lies only within its boundary.

The Situation

Just as under a despotic church and feudal state the possible power and beauty of the common people was denied expression, so under industrial feudalism the intellectual and moral powers of the workers are slowly choked to death, with incalculable loss to the individual and to the race. It is easy to kill; it requires a great spirit as well as a great mind to arouse the dormant energies, to vitalize them, and to make them creative forces for good.

It is ten years since the National Women's Trade Union League was organized, and out of our ever widening experience, we are seeking to establish such measures for constructive work as will enable us to meet with greater knowledge, courage, and capacity, the ever growing problem of women in modern industry.

We must ever use the living issues of each hour. If the fight for the shorter work day presents itself, we throw ourselves into the winning of that fight. If the contention for better wages becomes a legislative measure, we throw whatever we have of time and strength into that fight. If the demand for equipment in citizenship takes the form of a legislative measure enfranchising women, all the more certainly will we

launch out into this fight for democracy. If the constructive work of organizing and training for self-government demands organizers — women with vision and power and patience — we must furnish such organizers. If the representatives of eleven or twelve different nationalities in our great industrial centers come pleading for a knowledge of English, we must teach them our language. If the request comes for music and merrymaking from our younger sisters, let us realize that joy, more surely than sorrow, calls the child into the larger life of social relationship. If the constructive work of organization in the shop has not been permitted by the employers, and a strike ensues as a long overdue reaction against intolerable conditions, then here, too, let us put the best that is in us of time and strength, of intelligence and service and money, into this fight for a truer democracy. Grim and horrible as the strike may appear as an expression of protest, it is nevertheless the outward and visible sign of a miracle in the human soul.

Are Strikes the Best Way?

Is the strike the only way to win a living wage and the right to self-government, to which as an organization we stand pledged? Is the strike the best method at our command to win social justice?

Let me answer that the strike is the only weapon of *unorganized* workers. They have no other means at their command of securing a hearing. *But a group of*

ability to think, to develop, in response to a desire for increasing knowledge and skill,— only an automaton, the last necessary adjunct, an essential part of the machinery.

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womanhood in the face of great personal suffering and self-sacrifice, as well as in the face of grave temptation. I know girls who have lived twelve in a room, on twelve mattresses, because their earnings did not permit them better sleeping accommodations, and who have lived for three years at a stretch on rye bread and olive oil, unless invited out for a meal. I know girls who have simply paid for the space of half a bed during the night, when the same bed was not only shared by them during the night with another girl, but had been used by two other girls during the day time, these other girls being night workers. I know girls who take it as an every-day, matter-of-fact experience of working girl life that they should daily go without their luncheons. I know girls who have entered a saloon because they could there get a bowl of soup as well as a glass of beer for five cents, receiving in that bowl of soup better nourishment than any other expenditure of five cents could bring them. I know other girls who, with equal "matter-of-factness," never think of spending money for carfare, or lunches, or laundry, or outings, and never dream of earning enough to make life even half-way decent and comfortable, or giving a chance for any realization of aspiration, or ideals, or education — or sweetness of fresh air in the mountains or by the sea — and yet these girls, by the tens of thousands, in the face of such constant denial of all that makes life worth while, have held their womanhood intact and protected its integrity.

To the courage, the grit, the fineness of character,

all can testify who know intimately the daily life of the working girls. But well may we question the civilization, the democracy, the Christianity, of a community tolerating such conditions. We are demanding in the every-day life of our working girls the stuff out of which heroes and martyrs are made. We would like to see the conditions of industry so arranged that every-day folk might have a chance of earning their daily bread on the square. The question of the wage is not whether a girl can or cannot hold her own in the face of suffering, and poverty, and temptation, but whether any able-bodied, intelligent young woman is to put all the years of her girlhood and womanhood, all the possibilities of the joy of her motherhood, in jeopardy because she is giving her all in service without receiving sufficient remuneration to make possible decent nutrition, decent clothing, decent living conditions, for herself.

The Educational Side of the Question

There is a very general confusion in the minds of many people regarding the trade training of girls. This confusion is due to the belief that the girl is a potential wife and mother *only*. The fact that she is a bread-winner also, is forgotten or ignored. Such confusion of thought is dangerous when it becomes the directing force in the training of many millions of young girls. For example: One of the eastern agricultural schools offers training in agriculture for boys and girls. In the

beginning they both have the same studies, but suddenly we find the boys studying the chemistry of the soil and the girls cooking. Who is being cheated out of an important study in the course of agriculture—the boy or the girl? If knowledge of cooking is important to a study of agriculture, then both boys and girls ought to study cooking. If the study of chemistry of the soil is essential to the knowledge of agriculture, then both girls and boys ought to study the chemistry of the soil. The very least we can do is to be "on the square" with a child.

Again, in a curriculum of industrial education, we find that, under the heading of "Science," boys study elementary physics, mechanics, and electricity, and girls the action of alkalies and the *removal of stains;* while under "Drawing" we read, "For boys the drawing will consist of the practical application of mechanical and free-hand work to parts of machinery, house plans, and so forth. Emphasis will be placed upon the reading of drawings, making sketches of machine parts quickly and accurately. For the girls, the drawing will attempt to apply the simple principles of design and color to the work. The girls will design and stencil curtains for the dining and sewing rooms and will make designs for doilies for the table. They will plan attractive spacing for tucks, ruffles, and embroidery for underwear."

Women have entered nearly three hundred different occupations and trades in America within the past quar-

Some Conditions

It so happens that in the ranks of the army of labor upon whom falls most heavily the burden of this battle, there are several million young working girls. Upon their vision, upon their knowledge and fortitude, depends the hope of a whole great people. And they are children—young girls just growing into womanhood. The girl who is hungry and tired and lonely is likely to take "a long chance," and when invitations come from foreladies as well as foremen in the department stores or factories, or are brought by leading customers of her employer, her instinctive friendliness naturally responds. That there is commercialized vice, organized for the purpose of betraying the youngest of our sisters, we all know, and that it sends its representatives into the factory and store, we also know. The only protection for the girl under those circumstances is to be found in her trade union organization. It adds the strength of the group to her own individual strength, and guards and protects and teaches self-government and self-respect. To strengthen the hands of the girls so that they are empowered to protect themselves within the four walls of their work, is the imperative duty of every man or woman who wishes to combat the social wrong.

But if there is the darkness of tragedy here, there is also the light of heroism. It is essential that it be definitely understood that there are girls by the tens of thousands who have maintained the integrity of their

womanhood in the face of great personal suffering and self-sacrifice, as well as in the face of grave temptation. I know girls who have lived twelve in a room, on twelve mattresses, because their earnings did not permit them better sleeping accommodations, and who have lived for three years at a stretch on rye bread and olive oil, unless invited out for a meal. I know girls who have simply paid for the space of half a bed during the night, when the same bed was not only shared by them during the night with another girl, but had been used by two other girls during the day time, these other girls being night workers. I know girls who take it as an every-day, matter-of-fact experience of working girl life that they should daily go without their luncheons. I know girls who have entered a saloon because they could there get a bowl of soup as well as a glass of beer for five cents, receiving in that bowl of soup better nourishment than any other expenditure of five cents could bring them. I know other girls who, with equal "matter-of-factness," never think of spending money for carfare, or lunches, or laundry, or outings, and never dream of earning enough to make life even half-way decent and comfortable, or giving a chance for any realization of aspiration, or ideals, or education — or sweetness of fresh air in the mountains or by the sea — and yet these girls, by the tens of thousands, in the face of such constant denial of all that makes life worth while, have held their womanhood intact and protected its integrity.

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world with no knowledge whatsoever of their rights under their own state laws. This is one of the most menacing facts in our industrial life. Their ignorance and experience make exploitation easy, and help to break down protective legislation. Let us insist that every boy and girl be taught the personal rights under the labor legislation of their State, the minimum wage to be paid in industries, the limitation of the hours of work, the requirements of the sanitary code, the laws on fire protection, and the safety guards to be applied to machinery, such instruction to be given them beginning with the fourth grade, and to be brought to them through illustrations and stereopticon views, as well as through the printed page. Let boys and girls know that these protective measures are laws to be obeyed, granting them certain very definite rights in their wage contracts. In order to insure such knowledge to the child, let us insist that no working certificate be granted unless the boy and girl know their rights as workers under the law. Let a card be printed concisely stating these laws, and giving the address and telephone number of the factory inspection department, the health department, the department of fire protection, to whom the violation of such laws is to be reported. For years almost every state has enacted provisions for the safety, health, and welfare of the workers, but no adequate attempt has been made to bring this information, so important to the child, so fraught with importance to the general welfare of the state, to his knowledge.

ter of a century, and are they to qualify for these by learning to *space tucks attractively?*

Home-making a Partnership

Do not misunderstand. We, too, believe that every girl is a potential wife and mother, and some day the world may reverence that fact and express its reverence by establishing conditions of life which will fit the race mother for her task. Home-making means the partnership of husband and wife, or father and mother, and it is certainly as important to teach the boy the responsibility of his manhood as husband and father as it is important to teach the girl the responsibility of her womanhood as wife and mother. The whole history of the development of home economics with all its allied business opportunities in the field of domestic science, shows how eagerly the best trained minds among women are wishing to place home-making on an equality with other trades and professions. That this may be accomplished, is the desire of all thoughtful and intelligent women, but it cannot be done by smuggling certain subdivisions of domestic training into other curricula, as if such training had no dignity or professional basis of its own. Neither dare we forget that, to qualify the girl for homemaking, she must be trained as a bread-winner, for upon her ability and capacity to play well her part as bread-winner depends not only her welfare and that of her brothers, but the welfare of her future home. By underbidding

she has been her own worst competitor — the competitor against her own home, and as wife and mother she has had to live on the wage she herself has cheapened.

Woman Long in Industry

Another special difficulty in the demand for industrial education for girls is due to another belief — namely, that woman's entrance into industry is new; that there is a woman's invasion; that she is a place-taker — a taker of men's places. With new inventions in machinery daily throwing men out of work, there is oft-times a note of bitterness in the contention that the "machine and woman" are giving man no chance to work. But the history of our Colonial life and the early days of the Republic teaches us that women have been an important factor in American industry, and in the early days of the factory system they were indispensable. Some of the industries which have historically always been looked upon as woman's work, such as spinning, weaving, and sewing, are today not only shared with men, but are in the process of being taken over by men.

According to the Twelfth Census of 1900, three hundred and three separate occupations are listed, and in two hundred and ninety-five of these occupations women are working. I cannot here specify these occupations, but it is certainly of interest to know to what divisions of work they belong: Agricultural Pursuits; Professional Service; Domestic and Personal Service;

Committee on Education, to provide for circulating libraries, study classes, and the distribution of leaflets of educational value.

Fire Prevention Committee, to secure and coöperate with a municipal Fire Inspection Bureau.

Health Committee, to prevent sickness (which means doctors' bills, suffering, loss of wages, and perhaps loss of a position) by coöperation. The committee has a staff of physicians to whom members of the union can go for examination and treatment at any time, free of charge. The expense of this is met by the local League, which pays the Health Committee an annual fee of twenty-five cents per member.

If it is worth while to put the best of one's self into an effort to elevate the race; if that life is well lived which is spent for the uplift of the downtrodden and oppressed; if it is, in truth, a real joy to serve where service is needed and is appreciated, then must the story of our struggle appeal to the true manhood and womanhood of America.

May the vision of our great hope never grow dim in the day's drudgery! May we plan so wisely and labor so well that no moments shall be lost in restoring childhood to its joy, motherhood to its glory, and manhood and womanhood to the power of growth and freedom.

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A National Organization

The work of the Women's Trade Union League is national in scope and in need. Its membership is composed of working girls and women, of sympathizers who are not trade workers, and of any women's clubs or other organizations of women that wish to be allied with this national movement for the organization of women workers.

We recognize low wages and long hours as the two great evils from which the working class is now suffering. Eminent physicians declare that a shorter working day is essential to the health of women workers. Low wages for women not only wreck the lives of the girl and women workers, but also lower the wages of workingmen.

We find that when laws have been passed for the protection of working women, *these laws are not effective* unless the women are organized.

The workers are the only reliable inspectors, as they alone are always on hand.

It is impossible for individual workers to report violations of law, as informers are always discharged, but violations may be safely reported to the union, and no individual may suffer thereby.

Our Platform

1. Organization of all workers in trade unions.
2. Equal pay for equal work.
3. Eight-hour day.

4. A minimum wage scale.
5. Full citizenship for women.

A Few Results

We have secured higher wages and shorter hours for many thousands of working women.

We have helped thousands of women to understand that collective bargaining is more effective and more humane than the underbidding of a fellow worker.

We represent the working women in executive councils of labor organizations.

We respond to appeals from all over the United States to address men and women of all classes, on the conditions and the needs of working women.

In place of the useless, sporadic efforts of unorganized workers, we supply the educational and constructive work of our national organization.

We publish our own monthly organ, "*Life and Labor,*" which is devoted to the problems confronting the working women of the country.

We have established among women of all classes a recognition of the dignity of labor.

Committee Work

Legislative Committee, to work for labor legislation.

Committee on Judicial Decisions, to keep track of court decisions relating to the industrial world, especially those which affect women.

Committee on Education, to provide for circulating libraries, study classes, and the distribution of leaflets of educational value.

Fire Prevention Committee, to secure and coöperate with a municipal Fire Inspection Bureau.

Health Committee, to prevent sickness (which means doctors' bills, suffering, loss of wages, and perhaps loss of a position) by coöperation. The committee has a staff of physicians to whom members of the union can go for examination and treatment at any time, free of charge. The expense of this is met by the local League, which pays the Health Committee an annual fee of twenty-five cents per member.

If it is worth while to put the best of one's self into an effort to elevate the race; if that life is well lived which is spent for the uplift of the downtrodden and oppressed; if it is, in truth, a real joy to serve where service is needed and is appreciated, then must the story of our struggle appeal to the true manhood and womanhood of America.

May the vision of our great hope never grow dim in the day's drudgery! May we plan so wisely and labor so well that no moments shall be lost in restoring childhood to its joy, motherhood to its glory, and manhood and womanhood to the power of growth and freedom.

THERE ARE 8,000,000 WORKING WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES

The average wage of these women is $6.00 a week

$6.00 a week means:
- POOR FOOD
- POOR CLOTHING
- POOR SHELTER

$6.00 a week allows no margin for:
- ILLNESS
- RECREATION
- EDUCATION

Unorganized, Badly Paid Women Workers Lower Men's Wages

See What Organization Can Do:

WAITRESSES

Before Organization:	*After Organization:*
Worked 7 days a week 12 to 14 hours a day For $6.00 a week	Work 6 days a week 10 hours a day For $8.00 a week
Worked 4 hours a day at dinner hour for $3.00 a week	Work 3 hours a day at dinner hour for $4.00 a week
Furnished own apron and paid for laundering of all working linen	Employer furnishes apron and launders all working linen

AN ORGANIZATION POSTER

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW. PART IV.

1. What, in general, is the purpose of trade-unionism?

2. What is the specific demand of the workers? How has mechanical invention substituted machinery for the work of the skilled artisan?

3. How is the opposition to unionism manifested?

4. Are strikes necessary? What is the educational value of the union?

5. What are some of the trying conditions under which young girls have to work?

6. What is the Keynote of Trade Unionism? What is the real question of the wage?

7. What discrimination is made in arranging the studies for boys and for girls in some schools?

8. How many occupations are listed in the government reports? In how many occupations are women engaged?

9. What are the eight trades in which women are not engaged?

10. What definite instruction regarding labor legislation should be given to boys and girls before they enter the field of industry?

11. What are the two great evils from which the working class are now suffering?

12. Why should working women be organized?

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

1. *History of Women in trade organization.*
2. *What has been accomplished by the trade-unions?*
3. *Wherein has trade unionism failed in its purpose? Why?*
4. *The Law and its relation to the working class.*
5. *Industrial education for girls.*
6. *History of judicial decisions relating to the industrial world.*

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